

The Rambler,

A CATHOLIC JOURNAL AND REVIEW.

VOL. X.

DECEMBER 1852.

PART LX.

A PILGRIMAGE TO LA SALETTE.

WAS the story that was told in our last Number truth, or was it fiction? Was the apparition of our Blessed Lady at La Salette a fact, a dream, or an imposture? The *Times* newspaper, to which reference has been already made, says, "There is *no* evidence of this astounding fact (the whole history of the apparition) except that of the two children;" and though this cannot be accepted as a really true and honest account of the state of the case, yet we should have little objection to join issue upon it as though it were, in arguing with any candid and reasonable opponent. And it is to an examination of the children and their story, therefore, that we propose in the present article to confine ourselves.

And first as to the story itself; it would be impossible to enumerate all the trivial and captious objections which have been taken to it from time to time, by persons more eager to exercise and display their ingenuity than to ascertain the truth. There are two objections, however, of a more serious character, which it is necessary that we should consider with some attention. One is, an alleged inconsistency between the narrative of the boy and of the girl; the other concerns the many prophecies which were contained in "the lady's" discourse, and which, it is urged, have not been fulfilled. We will speak first of the prophecies. This certainly has a very grave appearance; for if a person professing himself to be a messenger from God deliberately makes predictions, the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of which must be a matter easily ascertainable, and it proves that, as a matter of fact, those predictions do not receive a fulfilment, it would seem to be a most obvious and necessary conclusion, that the pretensions of that messenger are false; and this is what some persons would fain persuade us concerning the prophecies of "the lady" at La

Salette. But let us examine this statement more closely for ourselves. The first prophecy which we meet with in "the lady's" discourse concerns the blight upon the potatoes; it is declared that this shall continue as it had begun, and that by Christmas (in that year) there should be no potatoes left. About this portion of the prophecy there is no dispute; every one allows that this at least was sufficiently fulfilled. But the prophecy went on still further to say, that there should be a failure of the grapes and of the nuts, a famine also, and a pestilence peculiarly fatal to children; and all this, it is said, has not been fulfilled. At least so it *was* said with an air of most triumphant confidence two years ago; already, however, it has become necessary to adopt a less boastful tone in speaking on this subject, for during the last two years there has been a most serious failure of the vintage. Any one who visits the south of France may read in the booksellers' windows of Lyons, Grenoble, or any other city in those parts, the titles of various new books which undertake to treat of *la maladie inconnue de la vigne*, "the unknown disease of the vine;" unknown, that is, in its true nature and for any available remedy, and indeed unknown altogether, even in its outward symptoms, but two short years ago; yet not unknown, it appears, to "the lady" on La Salette, who foresaw and foretold it four years before it shewed itself by any sensible manifestation. How shall we account for this? The facts are undeniable; it is a matter of public notoriety that the prophecy of a failure of the vintage was a part of the story of La Salette, printed and published by episcopal authority four or five years ago; it is equally notorious that such a failure has actually come to pass in the last two years, and that the most lively apprehensions are felt as to its probable continuance in consequence of the similarity which scientific men fancy that they can detect between the symptoms of the disease which destroyed the potatoes and that which is now ravaging the vines. Even the daily papers tell us as much as this, and that this scourge too has fallen not only upon the south of France, but upon Tuscany, Madeira, and other parts of the world. As to the immediate neighbourhood of La Salette, we can ourselves vouch for the presence of the disease, for as we passed through the vineyards, we gathered the grapes; they were no larger than peas, and hard as bullets, and yet it was the middle of September; moreover they were covered with a fine white powder, which seems to be the usual token of the pernicious blight. At the same time we inquired also about the nuts, but of these there was quite the average crop; neither has there been any failure of the corn-harvest, nor any extraordi-

nary mortality among the children. The prophecy of these then is unfulfilled; but is it, therefore, quite certain that it will always continue so? or does not rather the fulfilment of one part of the prophecy create a strong presumption that the fulfilment of the rest will not be slow to follow? But should the event prove otherwise, should ten, twenty, or thirty years go by, and none of these things come to pass, would the falsity of the apparition of La Salette be thereby established? No Christian, believing the histories which he reads in the Bible, can dare to answer this question in the affirmative; for was not Jonas a prophet of God? and was not "the preaching which he preached" in Ninive, "the word of the Lord?" yet what was the issue? And observe, the prophecy of Jonas was *in its form* absolute and unconditional; not a hope of mercy was held out to the inhabitants in the actual words that were addressed to them; the announcement was most precise, and determined to a definite period: "yet forty days, and Ninive shall be destroyed." But in the prophecy uttered by "the lady" at Salette, not only was there no fixed period within which it was certainly to be fulfilled, but the whole discourse was essentially conditional. It began with an expressed condition, and ended with the same; and it is obvious, therefore, that we are at liberty at least, if not positively obliged, to understand a condition as running throughout the whole. It is clear, then, that a man must be wilfully perverse, who refuses to give credit to the story of La Salette merely on the ground of its threats having been yet but very imperfectly fulfilled; some portion of them *has* been already fulfilled, a portion which no merely human sagacity could possibly have foreseen; and as for the rest, it may not be fulfilled perhaps for many years, or even never fulfilled at all, and yet the person who uttered it may have been a real messenger from heaven, and her words may have been "the word of the Lord:" for, in the first place, no period of time was fixed which has since elapsed, and within which the threatened punishments ought to have been inflicted; and secondly, even if there had been, yet the repentance and conversion of the people may have moved God "to have mercy with regard to the evil which He had said that He would do to them, so that He did it not."

And now let us turn to the alleged inconsistency between the narratives of the two children. The writer in the *Times* has told us that they "differ from each other in many material particulars;" that the children "contradict each other's statements, and refuse to modify either the one or the other. What are the facts? The children have been subjected, from the very

day of the apparition, to the most minute and tedious cross-examinations at the hands of every body whose devotion or curiosity has prompted them to go and seek an interview with them for this purpose. There has been no attempt to shield them from the importunity, and sometimes even the impertinence, of these self-constituted judges; and in many instances their inquiries have been pushed to the most extravagant lengths: question upon question has been put of a most captious character, and upon the most trivial details, for the sole purpose of perplexing and confounding the witnesses; questions utterly without point, often even difficult to be understood, have been proposed from sheer wantonness, merely for the amusement of seeing how they would get out of them; and in some of these, the answers of the children have been at variance, or they have refused to give any answers at all. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ!* For instance, the boy could not tell of what colour were "the lady's" stockings, the girl said they were of the same colour as the apron; they were not of one mind, or they said they did not observe, whether of the two was the brightest, the colour of the apron or of the chain; and so on through some half-dozen other trifles of no greater significance than these. One, and one only discrepancy is there of a graver kind; three or four persons—the number is not greater—testify that in telling the story to them, the boy made an addition to "the lady's" discourse, which was not to be found in the girl's account, nor indeed in the account usually given by the boy himself; they say, that after speaking of the young men "going to Mass only to make a mockery of religion," he inserted these words, "the boys put stones and other things into their pockets to throw them at the girls;" that is to say, he is accused of having added to the original narrative a development, a practical example, as it were, of the fault which had been just complained of (inattention and misbehaviour in the house of God), by specifying a particular abuse which really was at that time very prevalent in the parish churches of Corps and the neighbourhood.* Certainly this is a most noble foundation on which to build a charge of falsehood, contradiction, and inconsistency. Truly the credulity of the incredulous is most astonishing!

Rather than believe in the reality of an apparition and a miracle, they will believe that two ignorant and uneducated children can, in the course of one day—for they had not known one another longer—concoct together, or learn by heart from the lips of some third person, a long and marvellous story of something which they are to profess to have

* It has now utterly ceased.

seen, and of a message which they are to profess to have received and to have been charged to communicate to the people; that they can repeat this story word for word without any variation for thousands of times during a period of five or six years; that they can undergo any amount of questioning and any severity of cross-examination, whether in the familiar conversations of a fireside circle, or the more deliberate scrutiny of half a dozen thoughtful and intelligent inquirers, or even the keen and searching interrogatories of the most experienced advocate,—and yet one of them be never detected in any inconsistency at all, and the other only in such an one as has been here described. Is this really credible? Is it even possible? Taken at the very worst, what does the variation amount to? That a boy of eleven years old should have allowed himself, on some half-dozen occasions out of as many thousands, to incorporate into the text which he was reciting an interpretation or application of that text, of which it was most obviously susceptible, and to which he was in the habit of hearing it applied by those about him every day. This is the very utmost that can be said; and was it necessary, then, in order to constitute these children fit and trustworthy bearers of a heavenly message, that they should receive the gift of infallibility or impeccability for ever? Unless this can be shewn, an occasional unwarranted addition by one of the children upon a mere accessory, even though it had been done wilfully and deliberately, will not, in the judgment of an unbiassed mind, invalidate the testimony of both as to the main fact.* But, in truth, the matter is not so bad as we have represented it. It was natural that the people of the village, as they listened to the children's story, should make a sort of running commentary upon it, applying the general terms that were used in the discourse to the particular faults which they knew to be prevalent amongst them; and it appears that they used often to interrupt the children by comments of this kind, and to ask whether "the lady" had not said something about this, that, or the other sin, which seemed evidently alluded to, though not actually named. And the children sometimes found the easiest means to rid themselves of these importunate interruptions was to give a feigned assent and go on with their story. Thus one day, when Maximin was repeating the history to a number of girls and women, they wanted to know whether the lady hadn't said something about dancing and about making bad confes-

* Those who wish to examine more deeply this question of the mixture of truth and error in cases of this kind, may consult Benedict XIV. *de serv. Dei beatif. et canoniz.*, lib. iii. cc. 44, 47, 53.

sions. He replied in the negative; but when they reiterated the inquiry, and insisted upon it that she *must* have said it, he merely answered, *Comme vous voudrez*, and went his way. Nothing can be more natural than this; and it is obvious that in this way many a little circumstance might easily get mixed up in the minds of some persons with the main narrative, of which, in fact, it did not form any real part. It would not have surprised us, therefore, if there had been *many* reported contradictions of this kind; what *does* surprise us, and what disbelievers in the reality of the apparition are bound to account for is, that there should have been only one, and that one so unimportant. Let them adduce any other example of a false story, originated, or at least circulated, by persons equally ignorant, that has maintained its ground in the same purity for an equal length of time under an equal degree of publicity. Until this has been done, we can afford to smile at those who would make mountains out of molehills, and allege such trifles as these, as the motives and excuses of their unbelief.

Having now sufficiently examined the main objections that have been alleged against the details of the children's story, the next subject of inquiry which awaits us is the character and conduct of those by whom it was told. What was the character and position of Maximin and Mélanie in the autumn of 1846, and how have they behaved themselves ever since? Born of parents in the very lowest class of society, and in a part of the country where the people were notorious for inattention to their religious duties, they had been brought up in the grossest ignorance, both secular and religious. The girl was nearly fifteen years of age; but having been at service ever since she was nine or ten, and having been made by her masters to work on Sundays and holydays almost as constantly as during the week, she had a most imperfect knowledge of the doctrines of the Christian faith; she could not repeat two lines of catechism, and had not been admitted, therefore, to make her first communion with the other children of her age. She is described as being naturally timid, careless, idle, and disobedient; her memory and intellectual capabilities were so feeble that, even at the age of sixteen, after having been taught to repeat twice every day for a twelvemonth the acts of faith, hope, and charity, she could not be trusted to recite them correctly by herself; matters which many of the children in our poor schools of the age of seven or eight, or even less, would recite with the utmost facility. She has now for six years been under the care of the Sisters of Providence, and the training which she has re-

ceived during this period has of course considerably strengthened and improved her mental faculties; we were told, however, by the chaplain of the convent where she is now a novice, that they were still certainly below the average. This fact was not apparent in the course of the conversation which we had with her ourselves, for we talked only about the history of the apparition; and upon this subject, as we shall presently have occasion to observe, both the children have always displayed a degree of sharpness and ability altogether beyond their natural powers. The convent of the Sisters of Providence, in which Mélanie now is, is situated about two or three miles from Grenoble, and it is expected that she will take the veil there in the course of a few months. Through the kindness of the chaplain and the Mother Superior, we had an interview with her on the day before we went to La Salette. We proposed to her all the questions which we had previously prepared, or which occurred to us at the moment, relative to this or that circumstance of the history in which she had borne so prominent a part; and certainly, as far as we may allow our judgment upon the subject-matter of human testimony to be influenced by the personal demeanour of the witness—and there is no one who has ever watched the progress of a judicial proceeding who is not conscious of such an influence; and, indeed, it is universally accepted as a legitimate topic for the commentaries of the advocate and the consideration of the jury—the impression which she left upon our minds was most favourable. Her singular simplicity and modesty of manners was most prepossessing; and the ready straightforwardness of her replies seemed thoroughly incompatible with all idea of cunning and deceit. The boy we had no opportunity of seeing; for he is in the ecclesiastical seminary of the diocese, at some distance from Grenoble; but we received an accurate account of him from those who knew him well. He, too, was of poor natural abilities, and grossly ignorant at the time of the apparition. His father testifies that it was a work of three or four years to teach him the Our Father and Hail Mary; and when he was taken into the school of the Sisters of Providence, at the age of eleven years, a twelvemonth's instruction was not sufficient to enable him to serve Mass. His indolence too, and love of play, retard the progress of his studies almost more than any natural deficiency of mental powers. When once he had begun to learn, he was very anxious to become an ecclesiastic, and means have been afforded him to gratify this desire; as far, at least, as man *can* help him, that is, as far as his education is concerned. We are assured, however, that there is but little chance of his realising this object

of his wishes. He seems to be incapable of steady, persevering application; yet he is no genius who can dispense with such labour, and, indeed, the utter ignorance in which his earlier years were spent renders the necessity of study doubly imperative upon him.

These, then, are the children who, on the evening of the 19th of September, 1846, came down from the mountain, and told the wonderful story which we have narrated; and we think we need not say another word to shew that they were at least incapable of *inventing* such a story.

But if the story be not true, and if the children were not the authors of it, it must needs be either that they were the instruments and accomplices of the author, or else the victims of some extraordinary ocular or mental delusion. The refutation of this latter hypothesis may safely be left to the common sense of our readers; and the same may be said also of the idea suggested by the *Times*, of a "got-up apparition." Had the scene of the plot been laid in some thick wood, and in "the witching hour of night," we might have thought differently; but a "got-up apparition" at noonday, when there was not a single cloud in the heavens, and on the summit of a bare mountain, where not a tree or a shrub is to be seen, is simply impossible. It remains, therefore, to inquire whether the children may not have been the conscious accomplices of some third party yet undiscovered; for, if the story be not true, this is the only explanation of the matter that deserves a moment's consideration. Yet that even this too is utterly inadmissible, it will not be difficult to demonstrate, by observing what has been the conduct of the children subsequently to their first announcement of the marvel.

It has been already mentioned that they were strangers to one another until the day before the alleged apparition; the boy had been in the village of La Salette only for five days altogether, and both the place and the occupation being new to him, his master had felt himself obliged to accompany him every day, and to remain in his immediate neighbourhood at work, that so he might always have an eye upon him; and he deposes that during the whole of this week the two children had not been in one another's company until the Friday. Then on the Sunday they were separated again; the boy returned to Corps, the girl remained at La Salette; and they never met, save only to be examined from time to time by some of the numerous visitors, until the following Christmas. At that time the girl was taken into a poor-school kept by some religious in Corps, and the boy frequented the same school as a day-scholar. Strangers frequently came to inter-

rogate the children, both separately and together ; and sometimes these strangers took the boy away with them for a day or two to go and point out the precise spot upon the mountain ; but it was never observed that on any of these occasions the children shewed the slightest desire to come together after the examination was over, in order that they might "compare notes" as to the questions that had been asked and the answers given. On the contrary, it was notorious that they *never* sought one another's society at any time ; there was a perfect indifference between them ; neither cared to learn how or by whom the other had been examined ; nor did they ever make it a subject of conversation with their school-fellows. They were always ready to see anybody who came to question them upon the subject, and their answers were always prompt to the inquiries that were put to them ; but they neither talked of it unnecessarily to their companions, nor consulted together beforehand as to what they should say, nor communicated to one another afterwards the result of the examination. They never seemed in the slightest degree anxious or oppressed, as with the consciousness of some great mystery in which they had a part to play ; but the whole thing appeared to sit lightly and naturally upon them, like any other fact in their past history, which it was not necessary for them ever to speak about, but if interrogated upon, there was no reason why they should hesitate to answer ; and in this free and unembarrassed way they have undergone the examination of thousands of curious and cunning inquirers, of priests and bishops, lawyers, magistrates and judges, during a period of six years, and yet have never been detected in any untruth or contradiction.

Another feature in the conduct of the children which it would be hard to reconcile with the idea of their being parties to any fraud in the matter, is the wonderful fidelity with which they kept the secret which they said had been entrusted to their charge. Our space will not allow us to enumerate all the various ways by which it has been attempted from time to time to extort from them, if not the secret itself which they had been forbidden to disclose, yet at least some petty circumstance connected with it, against which there was no such prohibition ; as, for instance, whether it was of public or private concern, whether it was good news or bad, whether the time would ever come for revealing it, &c. &c. We will select, as a single specimen of what the children have had to undergo upon this head from a multitude of persons, the following account of the attempts that were made by Monsignor Dupanloup, the distinguished Bishop of Orleans. It is taken

from a letter addressed by himself to one of his private friends, on the 11th of June, 1848. He says,

“I cannot help seeing in the fidelity with which the children have kept their secret a strong token of their truth. Each has maintained, for the last two years, that he is in possession of a certain secret; yet neither pretends that he knows the other's. Their parents, their masters, their parish priests, their companions, thousands of pilgrims have questioned them on this subject; the most incredible efforts have been made to wrest from them some sort of revelation about it; but neither love nor money, neither promises nor threats, neither the civil authorities nor the ecclesiastical, have been able to make the slightest impression upon them in this matter; so that at this very day, after two years of continual efforts, nothing, *absolutely nothing* is known about it. I myself made the most earnest endeavours to penetrate this secret; and certain accidental circumstances helped me to push my endeavours further than most others perhaps, and at one moment I really thought I was succeeding. . . . I am bound to confess, however, that all my efforts were perfectly fruitless; at the instant that I fancied I was compassing my end and going to obtain something, all my hopes vanished; all that I fondly imagined that I had got, suddenly escaped me, and one answer of the child plunged me again in all my former uncertainty.”

He then goes on to relate the different ways in which he tried to overcome the boy's constancy, and to wrest from him some portion of his secret. It happened that he had a little travelling-bag with him which opened by a secret spring, without any lock and key. The boy's curiosity was greatly excited by seeing this bag opened and shut in so mysterious a manner. He examined it in all directions; and not being able to discover the spring, he begged Monsignor Dupanloup to shew it him. The prelate agreed to do so, on condition that the child would, in like manner, reveal *his* secret. It was in vain that the boy pleaded the great difference there was between them; that there was a prohibition in the one case, and none in the other. The bishop—or professor rather, for he was not then raised to the see of Orleans—would hear of no other condition. Ten times in the day did the boy return to the charge, and always with the same result. The professor did all he could to excite his eager curiosity more and more, and then declared his willingness to satisfy it, if only he would tell him *something*, though it were ever so little, about this mysterious secret. But the moment the words of temptation were spoken, the boy's whole tone and manner were immediately changed; his curiosity seemed altogether to vanish, and he became grave and serious. At last, after the lapse of

several hours, the professor relented, and shewed him the secret spring. But it was only to attack him by another weapon; for he now appealed to his generosity. The boy seemed to feel the reproach, but was still silent; "and I remained convinced," says M. Dupanloup, "as any one else would be who knows what human indiscretion is—and especially the indiscretion of children—that the lad had victoriously withstood one of the most violent moral temptations that can well be imagined." The professor, however, having come from a considerable distance, on purpose that he might thoroughly investigate this matter upon the spot, was not going to abandon his project because he had been twice or three times baffled. He reopened his attack, and in a more serious way. He tried what bribery would do. First he gave the boy himself some trifling presents of pictures, a new hat and a blouse; and then he got him to talk about the poverty and distress of his father; after which he proceeded to promise that his father should not be allowed to want for any thing, but should be enabled to live at home in ease and comfort all the rest of his days, if only the boy would tell him—not the whole secret, but only such portion as he *might* tell without breaking his promise. M. Dupanloup says that he inwardly reproached himself all the time for making the boy undergo such temptations; what the inward feelings of the boy were we do not know; we only know that he always simply and unhesitatingly answered, "No, sir, I cannot." Once more did this indefatigable tormentor renew his attack upon the child, and perhaps this last was the severest trial of all; still it met with no better success than its predecessors. As he was packing up his baggage at the inn, he allowed the boy to meddle with every thing as though it had been his own. Amongst other things, he laid hold of M. Dupanloup's purse, in which there happened to be a considerable sum of gold. Instantly he opened the purse, turned out its contents upon the table, and was soon absorbed in arranging and rearranging them in several little heaps. When M. Dupanloup saw that the child was thoroughly enchanted by the sight and handling of so much money, he told him with the utmost gravity, and really meaning what he said, that all this gold should be his, for his own use and that of his father, and that it should be given him then and there upon the spot, if only he would consent to reveal what little he might feel himself at liberty to reveal about the secret intrusted to his charge. The result of this most trying temptation shall be told in M. Dupanloup's own words.

"Then I witnessed a most singular moral phenomenon, which

still strikes me with astonishment as I recount it to you. The child had been entirely absorbed by the gold; he was delighted to look at it, to handle and to count it. All on a sudden he became quite sad at hearing what I said, abruptly left the table where the temptation was before him and said, 'Sir, I cannot.' 'And yet,' said I, 'there is money enough there to make both you and your father very comfortable.' Again his only reply was the same; 'Sir, I cannot;' uttered in a tone so firm and simple that I felt I was vanquished. Unwilling to confess as much, however, I added in a tone of assumed displeasure, contempt, and irony, 'Perhaps you won't tell me your secret because you have none to tell; it's all a mere joke.' He did not seem to be the least offended by these words, but answered briskly, 'Oh, but I have though; only I can't tell it.' 'Why not? Who has forbidden you?' 'The Holy Virgin.' Henceforth I gave up the useless contest. I felt that the dignity of the child was superior to my own. Placing my hand with respect and affection upon his head, I made the sign of the cross upon his forehead, and said, 'Adieu, my child; I trust that the Blessed Virgin will excuse the solicitations I have addressed to you; be faithful all your life to the grace you have received;' and in a few minutes we parted to see each other no more. Whoever will well consider what the nature of children is," adds the bishop, "how light, and fickle, and unsteady, and talkative, and indiscreet, and curious they are, and then shall make the same experiments that I have made, will certainly share also in the astonishment which I have felt, and cannot fail to ask himself whether it is by the two children that he is being thus baffled, or whether it is not rather by some higher and divine power."

There is another feature also in the case, which in some respects perhaps is even yet more surprising. We have seen how, on all matters concerned with the miraculous story of "the Lady's" apparition, the moral character of the children has risen above itself, superior to the strongest and most trying temptations; we shall now see how, in their intellectual capacities also, they have manifested a similar superiority. On all other subjects they have always been slow, dull, and stupid; but upon this one subject of the apparition, their quickness and ingenuity has amazed and confounded their examiners; and yet without the children seeming to be the least elated by, or even conscious of, the triumph they had achieved. Their most brilliant and profound replies have been given with precisely the same natural ease and simplicity as other answers in no way surprising; and no one has ever seen so much as a smile upon their countenances, even when their victory has been most complete. A few specimens must suffice. Did one who had examined them profess to disbelieve the whole story, and to treat the children as wicked impostors? They answered with an air of the utmost un-

concern, "The Lady charged us to repeat what she had said; she gave us no commission to make you believe it." Did another taunt them as to the non-fulfilment of the threats which the Lady had uttered? Immediately they replied, that that was no concern of theirs, but only of the Lady who had spoken to them; or at another time they objected to the same taunt the fact of the people's repentance. When a priest asked them whether they were not tired of repeating the same tale over and over again day after day, the retort was instantly ready, "And you, sir, are you tired of saying Mass every day?"—"I thoroughly believe in the truth of all that you have told me," was the apparently candid acknowledgment of a very clever ecclesiastic; "but it was not a messenger from heaven who spoke to you, but rather the Father of lies, disguised as an angel of light and seeking to sow disorder and falsehood in the Church." "But the devil would not be anxious to make us keep holy the Sunday, to behave well in church, and not to swear and blaspheme; besides, the devil would not carry a cross."—"Why not?" replied the priest; "we read in the Bible that he once carried our Lord Himself to Jerusalem and set Him on a pinnacle of the temple; and if he was able to do this with the living body of Christ, *à fortiori* he might well carry a mere image of Christ, a crucifix." "Nay," said the child, "but I am sure that God would never allow him to carry His Cross like that."—"But why not?" insisted the priest, "if he once carried Himself?" "*Because by the Cross He saved the world.*" When the other child, or the same child on another occasion, was pressed by the same difficulty, the answer was still more touching and more strikingly beyond their age and natural capacities: "Yes," said the child, "that may have happened when our Lord was upon earth, *but He was not then glorified.*"

Let any one turn over these answers seriously in his mind,—and if we were not afraid of wearying our readers, we could fill our pages with many more such,—let him consider the extraordinary simplicity, yet no less singular appositeness of some of them, the beauty and profound philosophy of others, and the thorough satisfactoriness of all; and then let him ask himself whether it is within the range of human possibility that this should be the language of dull and ignorant children, who have been tutored to play a certain part in a public imposture? Who could have foreseen these questions? Who suggested these answers? We know, indeed, that there were once those upon earth to whom it had been expressly forbidden to "take thought how or what to speak," because it should be "given them in that hour what to speak;" and we

know that Almighty God might render the same supernatural assistance to any other persons whom from time to time He chose to accredit as His messengers. We know also that "out of the mouth of infants and of sucklings He has perfected praise;" that He "has chosen the foolish things of the world that He may confound the wise, and the weak things of the world that He may confound the strong; and the base things of the world, and the things that are contemptible, and things that are not, that He might bring to nought things that are." All this we know; and therefore, if it be allowed that the apparition of our Blessed Lady to the children of La Salette was the act of Almighty God, every difficulty disappears. The event takes its place at once amongst a class and order of events where the incongruities we have pointed out are no incongruities at all, but in the strictest harmony with every thing about them. Twelve poor ignorant fishermen confound the wisdom of philosophers, and convert the world; this is the type of God's dealings with mankind under the Christian dispensation; and it is a type with which, if we may be allowed to compare things of such unequal magnitude, the history now before us faithfully corresponds.

But that two dull and ignorant children should consistently maintain during a period of six years, in spite of all kinds of threats and promises, a lying tale of their own invention, or that had been taught them by another; that they should, during this same period, answer in the most unhesitating manner to every question that was proposed to them, upon the spur of the moment, and without the possibility of previous confederation, and yet that these answers should never be contradictory, and often most profound; that they should impose upon the public, both lay and clerical, and even upon the Sovereign Pontiff himself;—this is a phenomenon which certainly does *not* harmonise with the general history of the world around us. The history of the sanctuary of La Salette, taken in the order of things divine, is not extraordinary; taken as a merely human affair, in which the finger of God has had no part, it is quite inexplicable.

Lastly, the same conclusion is forced upon us by yet another consideration, viz. the consequences which have followed from the apparition; the wonderful effect which it has produced upon the moral and religious character of the people. It is acknowledged on all hands that, six years ago, the state of religion in that part of France was most deplorable; a very considerable proportion of the inhabitants were living in such neglect of the Sacraments that they were out of the pale of the Church;

not only were those commandments of God and of His Church habitually disregarded, which forbade swearing and enjoined the sanctification of the Lord's day and the observance of days of fasting and abstinence, but those sins brought others also in their train; and the great majority of the people were living "without God in the world." But now the face of things is entirely changed; the voice of the blasphemer is silenced; the Sunday is not profaned by labour; the churches are frequented, religious duties faithfully attended to, and the Sacraments approached with reverence. So universal is this change, that we are assured that out of the six thousand inhabitants of the canton of Corps, there are scarcely one hundred whose lives are not now ordered, outwardly at least, according to a Christian model; and of many the devotion and piety are most edifying. To what then, and to whom, shall we attribute this blessed result? "The tree is known by the fruit." "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" Is the conversion of souls the work of man, or of God? and if of God, can we suppose that He vouchsafes to work miracles of His grace in the conversion of a whole neighbourhood, as a reward of human deceit and covetousness? Such an idea cannot be entertained for a moment; it remains then, that the apparition on the summit of La Salette can only have been a message of mercy from on high. God was its author; and He has blest it for the purpose for which it was sent, and the whole work has been His. Take this as a clue to the narrative, and every part of it becomes at once plain, consistent, and intelligible; but attempt to explain it by any other means, and you find yourself entangled in an inextricable labyrinth of difficulties.

ROBBERIES OF RELIGION, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

The Report of the Mortmain Committee.

WE have seen that, until the era of the Reformation, no laws existed, the object or effect of which was to restrict or prevent the acquisition of land by the Church; and that the laws of mortmain, which it has been mendaciously represented by almost all modern Protestant writers or witnesses, down to the Report of the Mortmain Committee, were passed for this purpose, and to protect the country from the rapacity of the clergy, and prevent the lands of England from being swallowed up by religious houses, had no such character, and did not necessarily prevent the acquisition of a single acre by the

Church. And, moreover, be it recollected, that these laws only referred to *feudal* lands (which by no means comprehended all, nor nearly all, the lands of the kingdom), and were based upon purely feudal reasons, and only operated to secure to the lords compensation for the loss of certain lucrative feudal profits; for which reason these laws did not, and could not, apply to any alienation, unless to corporate bodies (which religious houses then were); and that up to the period of the Reformation no law had passed in any degree interfering with the disposition of land to persons unincorporated, in trust for religious or charitable purposes; and that such alienations were of common occurrence, and recognised as perfectly legal, from the age of Edward I., when the first mortmain law passed, until the era of the Reformation. And how little likely it is that any laws would be passed dictated by jealousy of the clergy, in respect to the acquisition of property, may be arrived at from the simple fact that, as to personal property, the law, from the Conquest till long after the Reformation, gave to the bishop the administration of the property of an intestate, on the principle (as Perkens, an old lawyer, says) that spiritual men were of better conscience than laymen, and better able to judge, and more likely to do, what was for the benefit of the soul of the deceased. It was on this principle that the law of England acted until after the Reformation. At that era the policy of parliament was not compensation for feudal profits, but confiscation. If the religious houses had too much land at that time, or if their holding of land were not beneficial to the state, parliament could have prevented their acquiring any more, and would assuredly have taken care, as their excuse, to allege the injury to the state. But, on the contrary, (it is not generally known, and is a curious fact,) Providence overruled their hypocrisy to expose the iniquity of their rapacity; for, in the year 1535, in the act for suppressing the smaller religious houses, the legislature solemnly affirmed that in the larger houses “(thanks be to God) religion is right well observed;” thus placing on record the clear and emphatic condemnation of the sacrilegious confiscation which they perpetrated, in the course of four short years afterwards, upon those very houses in which they thanked God religion was “right well observed!” This is like the similar condemnation of the unprincipled parliament of the time of Henry V., who in one of their acts recited the hospitality and alms exercised by the monasteries, about the very period they recommended to the Crown (to save their own pockets) to sequester and appropriate the revenues of those monasteries for secular purposes! Such were the laity, to be

protected from the "rapacity" of the clergy! The rapacity appeared plainly on the side of the laity, and was carried out remorselessly, we need scarcely say how, at the era of the Reformation. But what is to be remarked is, that these rapacious parliaments never pretended that the possession of land by the religious houses was prejudicial to the country; on the contrary, they stated and shewed in their acts of parliament their sense of the enormous advantages arising to the realm from the works of charity and piety and hospitality performed by the religious houses out of their revenues. And when in the reign of Henry IV. they suggested the confiscation of these revenues, they put forward no such paltry pretext as their modern apologists would have supplied them with, but boldly based this measure upon the exigencies of the state; thus resorting to the tyrant's plea, necessity. And even at a later day, when in the reign of Henry VIII. this iniquitous measure was carried out, the same plea was urged. No pretences were put forth as to the possession of land by the religious houses being prejudicial to the state, or of its having been acquired by rapacity; but, on the contrary, it was confessed that, as to all the large and important houses, religion was right well observed, and works of charity and piety duly performed; and in the statute suppressing them, no allusion is made to any other ground for it than the "surrenders" extorted from the unfortunate abbots by the threat, and in many instances the execution, of the most cruel death. Hence, it is apparent that in the reign of Henry VIII. much the same course was pursued as in the reign of Henry I.; that is, a course of plain, open, lawless rapacity, with no paltry pretences to justification or palliation. They had not yet arrived at such hypocrisy as to profess to reconcile rapacity with piety, and put on record solemn apologies or pleas for confiscation on the score of conscience. Rapid, however, was the corrupting process of heresy, and they had reached this pitch of hypocrisy in the reign of Edward VI. when the later laws of spoliation were passed, and the so-called "statute of superstitious uses" was enacted, which has ever since rendered masses or prayers for the repose of the souls of the faithful departed illegal. Up to that time the Church had been plundered against the law; now it was to be robbed by the law. This is the second era in the history of Robberies of Religion.

The first effect of the sacrilegious spoliations of the Reformation was a decline and decay of the virtue of charity; and it is curious to remark how rapidly this was experienced, and in what way the legislature displayed their sense of it. With the suppression of religious houses of course took place that

which was partly the cause and partly the effect of this atrocious measure—a disappearance of that spirit of religion at which these institutions aim; and thus, the necessary consequence was, not merely the destruction of the fruits of charity which the piety of past ages had accumulated, but of the tree from which they sprung, and of which the very life and sap were now poisoned or withdrawn. It was not merely that the sweet streams of charity were polluted or diverted, but the very source was dried up, and the fountains of pure faith and piety, whence alone they could flow, were sealed to this unhappy country. The very first result was an act of parliament which speaks volumes—the act of Henry VIII., passed in the year 1540—allowing, for the first time in the history of this country, liberty to devise land by last will. Why should such an act have been wanted within a few years of the commencement of the fell career of confiscation and spoliation? The reason is obvious: it was to enable spoliators to make upon their death-beds a restitution they shrank from making in their life-time, and yet durst not meet their Maker without making,—restitution of plundered Church property. Such was the secret and motive of the first “Statute of Wills,” and such the origin of that system of death-bed bequests which was the result of Protestantism—the only substitute it could supply to the magnificent charity of Catholicism. From that time, charity flowed chiefly in this comparatively inferior and often spurious channel; whereas before the Reformation, the cases are rare of religious or charitable foundations or endowments by last will. No! in the ages of faith men had charity enough to give up their lands while they lived; it was reserved for Protestantism so to rob men of the grace as to make them resort to the miserable refuge of leaving it when they could no longer enjoy it, and were compelled to relinquish it!

Of course, so far as religious houses were concerned, there was no chance of any scope for the statutes of mortmain. Men were not likely to give to the Church their property; who had connived at the confiscation of her own. And so had the appetite for plunder been whetted by the distribution of Church property, which was rapidly, by sales and otherwise, divided by the upper and middle classes, that in the reign of Mary, notwithstanding the personal disposition of the sovereign, the nation, especially the “great men” who had profited by the plunder, were not at all disposed to relinquish their sacrilegious spoils; so that the queen, the cardinal, and the clergy were fain, in their anxiety to have the kingdom reconciled to the Holy See, to dispense with the duty of

restitution. All that could be done was to introduce an enactment allowing, for twenty years, any persons to give lands to spiritual persons or bodies corporate ecclesiastical: "forasmuch as after the reconciliation of this noble realm to the body of Christ's Church, it is to be trusted that by the abundance of God's mercy and grace devotion shall increase and grow in the hearts of many, with desire to give their worldly possessions for the resuscitating of alms, prayer, and example of good life in this realm." How far these anticipations were realised under protection of this act, or how far those who had declined to make restitution were likely to be very liberal in almsgiving, must be matter somewhat of speculation; since, in four years, a Protestant sovereign again ascended the throne; all which had been done was undone, and the country once more reduced to a state of schism; even the Church property which the late queen had, of that which yet remained in the possession of the crown, relinquished, being reconfiscated and revested in the sovereign. Of course the statutes of mortmain were revived; but how unnecessarily, and how much more prone men had become to diminish the property of the Church than to increase it, is significantly shewn by several statutes passed at this period. Thus, in 1570, an act recited that "divers ecclesiastical persons, being endowed with ancient palaces and edifices belonging to these ecclesiastical benefices, have of late not only suffered the same to run to great ruin and decay, and in some part utterly to fall down, converting the timber, lead, and stones to their own benefit, but have also made deeds of gifts and colorable alienations, to the intent to defeat and defraud their successors" (just as some of the abbots had done in "surrendering" their houses to Henry VIII.), "to the great defacing of the ecclesiastical estate;" then it is enacted that such things shall not be; they were too shameful—the doings of the Protestant prelates—even for the court and parliament of Queen Elizabeth! So now an act is passed to prevent those infamous alienations of Church property, which had first been made under some species of compulsion to the Crown, and were now—the prelates profiting by the example of the prince—made for the private pecuniary advantage of the episcopal persons interested! It is a pity such a statute had not passed earlier!

In 1572 an act was passed, reciting that "divers charitable persons have given lands to hospitals for the relief of the poor; and it is hoped that many more hereafter will charitably give; and many of such gifts have been and are likely to be made by last wills of the givers;" and then the act

cures any defects in such gifts arising from want of counsel. This is a distinct recognition by the Protestant parliament that the charity of Protestantism was principally of the death-bed order, and an obvious attempt to stimulate this spurious species of charity to the utmost.

In 1597 another act was passed quite as significant in another way. It recites that her Majesty "much affects the good success of good and charitable works," especially for the provision of houses of correction, or abiding houses, or hospitals; and enacts that all persons may found or endow such houses; and for that purpose the statutes of mortmain are dispensed with, the donors are enabled to constitute the hospitals, &c. corporations, with perpetual succession, and empowered to hold lands.

It is plain that the government having found the country very much the worse for the suppression of the monasteries, and perplexed how to provide for the poor, was well pleased to permit private persons to erect establishments of any kind for that purpose; and, it will be perceived, parliament was not at all particular—houses of correction, hospitals, or "abiding-places," any thing just to take the charge of the poor from the state.

The next statute on the subject is still more significant. It was in 1601, and recites that the lands given for such charitable purposes had not been employed according to the charitable intent of the givers thereof (alas! a common case in Protestant England for these three centuries, as many millions of souls now in hell can testify!) "by reason of frauds, breaches of trust, and negligence." And then commissioners of charitable trusts are appointed, with powers, not only to decree to charitable uses any property already dedicated thereto, but to legalise for such uses dispositions by last will so defective as at common law to be void! Accordingly, under this act, Lord Bacon held an attempted devise of lands to charitable uses by last will to be good, which by the common rules of law was utterly ineffective for any purpose. So driven was Protestantism to depend on death-bed charity!

It is curious to observe, that as of course the natural effect of such an act* would be to empower the commissioners to

* The act originally was not intended to include *religious* charities, such as legacies for the support of clergymen or chapels, though ultimately it was construed so as to comprise them. The act in this respect marks an era in the history of charity. Hitherto it had been essentially religious. Sir Francis Moore, the author and expositor of this celebrated statute, says, in his "Exposition," with satirical simplicity, "A gift of lands to maintain a chaplain or minister, to

set aside the transfers of the lands of religious houses, a special clause is inserted "that the act shall not extend to any lands conveyed to the crown by act of parliament, surrender, or otherwise, in or since the reign of Henry VIII.;" a most significant admission, by a Protestant parliament, that those transfers, and the transactions connected with the suppression of the religious houses, were, in law, fraudulent and sacrilegious. Under this state of the law, almost all the charitable foundations, from the Reformation until the Revolution, were by last will. This, of course, was better than not having them at all, and so the legislature and the lawyers of the Elizabethan age thought, who were half Catholic, and considered charity a duty better done late than not at all, and recognised the obligation of restitution; and therefore, —although they knew the people had lost the grace to give while they could enjoy, because they had lost the religion which alone could impart the spirit of self-sacrifice,—at all events, they encouraged them to give while they had the power; and when they found to fail the charity of the living, appealed, at least, to the charity of the dying. Hence Lord Coke, who did not like the statute of wills allowing persons to leave land by last will, had no objection to it so far as charitable bequests were concerned; and hence Swinborne, who wrote his celebrated book on wills in 1590, although entering at length and largely into all questions as to invalidity of dying depositions, makes no allusions to any particular need of precautions or restrictions in cases of charitable bequests; and when enumerating cases of "undue influence," as likely to be exercised on a testator, though he mentions the "physitian or the wife," &c., does not mention a minister of religion.* Yet the Common Prayer Book now

celebrate Divine Service is not within the statute, for it was of purpose omitted in the penning of the act, lest the gifts intended to be employed upon purposes grounded on charity might, in change of times, contrary to the minds of the givers, be confiscated into the King's treasury; for religion being variable, according to the pleasure of succeeding princes, that which at one time is held for orthodox may at another be counted superstitious, and then such lands are confiscated: as appears by the statute of charities, 1 Edward VI."

* "It is not unlawful for a man, by honest intercession and modest persuasion, to procure himself to be made executor; neither is it altogether unlawful for a man, even with fair and flattering speeches, to move the testator to give him his goods, except where unto flattery is joined deceit, &c., or the testator is a person of weak judgment, and easy to be persuaded, and the legacy is great; or when the testator is under the government of the persuader, and in his danger. And therefore if the physitian, during the time of sickness, be instant with the testator to make him executor or give him his goods, the testament is not good; for the law presumeth that the testator did it lest the physitian should forsake him or not urgently cure him. So it is if the testator, being sick, his wife neglect to help him, or to provide remedy for the recovery of his health, and nevertheless in the mean time busily apply him with sweet and flattering speeches to bestow his

directed the curate to "admonish the sick man to make his last will, and earnestly to move him to be liberal to the poor;"* of which, of course, Swinborne was well aware. And the number of charitable bequests must have been enormous, and the practice of making them very prevalent, because by far the larger portion of the charitable endowments of that age, as already alluded to, were by last will. In truth, the lawyers and lawgivers of that age were well aware, that if undue influence were ever exercised upon testators, it would be far likelier to be exerted for self than for charity; and no trace can be found at this age of any special jealousy of undue influence in favour of charity; on the contrary, it is clear that the idea would then have been repudiated as an absurdity.

Hence, when in the reign of Charles II. the rapid spread of perjury (one of the sweet first-fruits of Protestantism) occasioned the "Statute of Frauds and Perjuries," requiring writing, signed by the testator, to constitute a valid will or declaration of trust, this, like all other previous statutes on the subject, applied equally to all wills, whether in favour of charity or not; and up to the Revolution no law had been passed imposing particular restrictions upon charitable bequests; on the contrary, many laws had been passed in their favour; all which then existed.

These laws, however, only applied to Protestant charities; Catholic charities were of course proscribed with the religion out of which they rose. And, indeed, at this period Catholics could not hold land for any purpose. In 1605, in the reign of James I., heirs forfeited their lands by going abroad for education. In 1700, in the reign of William III., after the "happy and glorious" Revolution, when a lawful monarch had been expelled from the throne because he had "exercised arbitrary power" (*i.e.* in dispensing with the penal laws), and all this had been done for the sake of liberty, an act passed for the "further preventing the growth of popery," disabling papists from taking or holding land unless, before the age of eighteen, they apostatised from their religion!—the reason for which exception was stated by one of the lord chancellors of that age to be, that it was hoped it might produce conformity in those who were yet young; whereas for those who had attained mature age, it was deemed useless to make the attempt. And the reason of the act was likewise explained on the same high authority to be, to pre-

goods upon her. Or, again, when the persuader is very importunate; and it is an impudent thing *to gape and cry upon the testator.*"—*Swinborne on Wills*, part vii. sec. 4.

* Visitation of the Sick.

vent the Catholic nobility and gentry from harbouring Catholic priests—the way in which their religion was maintained during those dark days of persecution.

This act was cruelly enforced to the disherison of all Catholic heirs who did not choose to apostatise;* and of course, while Catholics could not hold land for any purpose, there could, by law, be no Catholic charities; so far as law could go, they were proscribed.†

It is instructive to observe, that the very lawgivers who proscribed Catholicity were unfavourable, as if by infallible instinct, to charity. And the legislators who suppressed Catholic charities discouraged the Protestant. Thus, in 1710, Lord Chancellor Cowper, who declared that the act of Elizabeth had been carried too far in favour of Protestant charities, pronounced a decision, the first of a series, calculated to restrain and narrow it, and reversed the decision of Lord Bacon allowing a will to take effect for charitable uses which was void by the common rules of law. The only effect of this,

* The cases on it are curious. See Mr. Finlason's forthcoming work on the History of the Laws affecting Charitable Bequests.

† The act, however, was evaded: a witness before the last Mortmain Committee explained *how*. There were three deeds. The first conveyed the property to a Protestant trustee. The second deed declares the trust of that deed to be, to pay the annual proceeds of the fund over to a (Catholic) trustee named; and then the Catholic trustee has in general a letter directing him to what particular objects the funds are to be given. The whole transaction being for Catholic purposes was void; and by the interposition of a Protestant trustee—in case a question arose in any court—he might be the party to defend the foundation. In one case the testator writes the letter of secret instructions thus: (the date is 1719) "Because in these evil times we cannot, without hazard of trouble and seizure, leave any alms to pious purposes by express deeds and declarations, nevertheless such religious legacies are beneficial to our souls, a charitable help to salvation, a necessary relief to poor Catholics, and a support to the ministers of Christ's Church, and therefore not to be omitted, but to be contrived with all possible secrecy—even from our trustees themselves—till convenient time, lest by inquiries and oaths they be obliged to forced discoveries. For these reasons I did not express my intentions to you, but have left this letter to declare my purposes, depending on your known friendship and honesty that you will cause them to be performed. By my deed poll, dated in the year 1714, I directed that certain sums therein expressed should be paid to the persons therein named, and the surplus of all my freehold and customary lands mentioned in the deed should be paid to my executors, to be disposed of by them in such manner as I, by note under my hand, should declare and appoint. And by my last will, dated in the year 1718, I made you and J. Atkinson (whose name is only used as a cover and protection) my executors and residuary legatees of all my personal estate, to be disposed of according to a note under my hand. Now, by this note or letter I disclose to you that it is my will, mind, and appointment, that all the sums mentioned in the deed shall be paid to the persons therein named; and that all the lands, and the products thereof, be for ever employed upon the maintenance of a priest of Douay College, to assist the poor Catholics in the parish of Kendal, and toward an alms, &c. And I request of you and your heirs that, with all due regard to conscience and our holy religion, you in the safest manner perpetuate these uses. This is the trust reposed in you, and recommended to your posterity and assigns, in the name of God."

however, was to place charitable bequests on the same footing as all others, whereas the act of Elizabeth had given them a more favourable position.

And so, when in 1697 the act* of William III. passed, indirectly to revive the restrictions of the law of mortmain, and to that extent to repeal the act of Elizabeth (which dispensed with that law in favour of charitable bequests), the course taken was by reviving the law of mortmain as to all corporate bodies; and so far from the act professing to be aimed entirely at charitable bodies, it was carried under cover of being in favour of charity, while in reality it was no doubt against it, and a perfect piece of legislative hypocrisy. It recites that it would be "a great hindrance to charitable works if persons were not permitted to found schools, &c. or augment the revenues of those already founded, by granting lands and tenements, &c."; and it enacts, that such foundations might hold lands in mortmain, on condition of procuring "the license of the Crown;" carefully concealing that by the act of Elizabeth they might hold lands without license. The result was of course to impose a new restriction upon charity. In the reign of Anne, however, the "Queen Anne's Bounty" act provided that persons might give land to be held in mortmain, to the corporation for the augmentation of the maintenance of ministers of the Church of England. But this act was no doubt a result of the half Catholic feelings of the daughter of James II. and perhaps of some vague ideas of reparation or restitution, and was viewed with aversion by the corrupt legislature of that age.

How corrupt it was, and how the suppression of "popery" had been accompanied, not only by the decay of charity, but the growth of iniquity, the language of the legislature and the records of history amply attest. The Protestant Smollett tells us that not merely men, but women and children, were immersed in the new vice of gin-drinking, introduced by the Dutchman, our "deliverer." All classes of people (the same authority informs us) were infected by the foul spirit of speculation and stock-jobbing; the middle classes were so devoid of principle or decency, that it is stated in the debates of the time, by friends of the Church, that the communion was systematically taken to qualify for office under the Test Act, by persons however sceptical or immoral;† insomuch that it was the custom of the curates to desire the "act of parliament communicants" to receive by themselves, in order not to outrage too much the feelings of the few piously disposed! The upper classes were so corrupt, that both in the

* 7 and 8 Will. III.

† Debates in 1731. Speech of Sir W. Plumer.

plunder of the "Charitable Society," and in the frauds of that gigantic swindle the South-Sea Company, peers, privy-councillors, and members of parliament were implicated; and a shameless system of corruption so pervaded the legislature, that the premier was, in the reign of George II., openly charged on the floor of the House of Commons with purchasing votes; and himself declared, that he knew from experience that "all men had their price!" Such was the character of the age in which the first law passed aimed especially at charitable bequests, an age in which Bishop Newton wrote a book on prophecy, to repress the tendency to infidelity among the higher classes, and Bishop Butler declares it was deemed an indication of imbecility to avow a belief in revelation! Such were the results of the Reformation—such the blessed fruits reaped at the era of the Revolution!

Hitherto no law had passed directed against gifts or bequests for purposes of religion or charity. Let this fact be well remarked, the reproach was reserved for Protestantism, legislating against religion and charity; and the legislature were not ripe for such a policy until corrupted to the core, and the whole of society infected by scepticism, immorality, and irreligion. Up to this time the only laws passed drawing a distinction between gifts for charitable or religious uses and others, were in favour of the former. Thus, the laws of mortmain applied to all corporate bodies, and were dispensed with as to religious houses; so the "Statute of Wills" and the "Statute of Frauds" applied to all wills, whereas the acts of Elizabeth dispensed with the common law and statute law in favour of charitable bequests.

It was only Catholic charities which were proscribed, and on the plea of "superstition." No attempt had yet been made avowedly to restrain charity; yet virtually the principle was involved in the proscription of Catholicity. To proscribe the religion which gave rise to charity was, in reality, to proscribe charity; and the act against charitable bequests was a logical development of the penal laws. It was only a question of time. It required a certain period for Catholicity to die out of the land, and for Protestantism to realise its results. From the Reformation to the Revolution the change was in progress. At the Revolution it was completed. Previously to the Reformation charity was self-sacrificing, and exercised by the *living*; after the Reformation it was comparatively spurious, and exercised by the *dying*. A law was now to be passed, after the era of the Revolution, professedly to prevent the spurious charity, but really to discourage all charity, and as much as possible to prevent its being exercised at all. In

an age when there was no charity but that of the dying, to prohibit that was of course virtually to proscribe charity altogether. Certainly this species of charity was not the best; but the legislature of the Elizabethan age preferred the worst to none at all. The legislature of the Revolution age, on the contrary, preferred having no charity. The reason they hypocritically assigned was, that it was better to have the best; but they must have known that the way to procure it was not to discourage the worse. The real fact was, that parties had often left large property for charitable purposes: of course sometimes greatly to the disgust of the heirs or next of kin. The difficulty was how to prevent this without avowing the motive with which it was done—the profit of self to the prejudice of charity. This being so, the legislature proceeds, with some “craft and policy” (to quote one of the “godly statutes” of the Puritans) to endeavour to provide against this “mischief,” as they considered it. They entitled their act, “An act to prevent the inalienability of lands,” reciting first, that gifts or alienations of lands in mortmain (*i.e.* to corporations) are “restrained by wholesome laws” (of mortmain) as “prejudicial to the common utility,” and that this “public mischief” had of late greatly increased by many large and improvident alienations or dispositions made by languishing or dying persons, or by other persons, to uses called charitable uses, to take place after their deaths, to the disherison of their heirs.*

Now here we must point out, that the pretended “public mischief,” against which this act is directed, is not at all, as the legislature affect to assume, the same as that against which the “wholesome” laws, whose authority they appeal to, had been directed. The ancient acts of mortmain applied only to alienations to corporations; the modern act applies to alienations to private persons’ in trust. Moreover, the mortmain laws did not prevent the acquisition of lands by religious houses; but practically they operated only to impose a fine for alienation according to the feudal system. And further, the land held by religious houses was not on trust, and was not inalienable; whereas the whole scope of the new law was to apply to land held in trust, because it was inalienable. Again, the act professed to be for protection of heirs from disherison; whereas it applied equally where there were heirs or near relatives, and where there were not; and to crown all, it only applied to charitable bequests, leaving a man at liberty to disinherit his heirs for any other purpose, or for any other motive, however discreditable. In plain English, a man might,

* 9 Geo. II. c. 36. 1736.

under this act, leave all his land to a mistress or a cook, but none to an almshouse, a chapel, or a school! This betrays the real scope and secret purpose of the act. It was against testamentary dispositions (to take effect at death) for charitable uses. And why only aimed at those dispositions? Because the quality of charity had so degenerated that it was an object of disgust and contempt.

At the time of the passing of the act, one of the lords spoke of the "prevailing madness for perpetuating one's memory by leaving a large estate to a body politic," and went on to say: "If a man happens to fall into that delirious ambition of erecting a palace for beggars, and having his name engraved in gilded letters above a superb portico; or if he be desirous of having his statue set up in the area of any charitable place already erected, cannot he give some part of his estate in his lifetime for that purpose, and reserve a sufficient estate for supporting himself?"* Guy's hospital is here alluded to: one of a class of Protestant institutions erected not from charity so much as from vanity—sometimes (though seldom) with disregard of relations. Edinburgh is full of such institutions: "Chambers' hospital," "Donaldson's hospital," and so forth; obviously established to perpetuate the name, on the same principle as Allen's at Dulwich. But though no doubt the motive is paltry, the effect was salutary; and the very motive implies the non-existence of children or blood relations; so that the reason assigned for the new legislation—the spurious character of charity—was not altogether the motive of the act: it was rather the excuse, and served to conceal the real reason, which was, not so much disgust for spurious charity as a distaste for any charity. This is proved by the act itself. It prohibits all devises of land by last will for religious or charitable purposes, whether made under undue influence, or from improper motives or to the disregard of relations, or not, and only allows land, or money arising out of land, to be given for such purposes by deed executed and enrolled twelve months before death. One of the very first cases occurring under the act shewed its real policy. One Roger Troutbeck, an orphan sailor-boy, educated at a Wapping poor-school, went to the East Indies in 1719, and came back half a century afterwards immensely rich, dying in 1786 without any near relations that he was aware of, having outlived them all. He left his property with very praiseworthy feeling to endow schools at Wapping, in gratitude for the education he had received.

* The very thing the act prevented! But suppose he have no more than sufficient to support himself? and have (on the other hand) no heirs or near relations?

The property was in land, and under the act of George II. the legacy could not take effect. The relations were advertised for, and none appeared. The crown confiscated the property, and applied it to the erection of that royal folly, the Pavilion at Brighton, some time since got rid of, as too ridiculous and useless. After this, some descendants of a distant relative came forward and claimed the property, and litigation ensued with the crown, the result of which, whether it went one way or the other, must have been disgraceful to the country.

There was no pretence for the passing of such an act in any cases which had come before the courts of law or chancery. On the contrary, all the cases reported of wills obtained by undue influence were for the personal benefit of the party exerting the influence, and no case had transpired of any such means being used to obtain a bequest for charitable purposes. Thus, in 1654, it was held, that a will made by over-importunity of a wife, and merely to obtain quiet, was made by constraint, and not valid.* So, in 1688, where a woman, getting the ascendant over a young lady, made her swear to make a will giving her all her estate, and, when the will was made, got her to swear not to revoke it, Lord Chancellor Jeffries held it no will.† So, in 1711, it was held by Lord Chancellor Talbot, that a will made *in extremis* by importunity of a wife (who guided the pen) was invalid.‡ So in a case before Lord Chancellor Cowper, in 1715, where a stranger had got a will in favour of a mother revoked, and another made in his own favour. So in a similar case, 1727, in the reign of George I.§ Thus, up to the very time of the passing of the act of George II. in the year 1736, the records of the courts of law attested two things, that undue influence was usually exercised by persons for their own benefit, and that the common law of the realm, and the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery, were sufficient to meet such cases without any new statute on the subject. And so after the act passed. Let it be observed that all these cases were Protestant cases; for Catholics could not hold lands at all, and of course could neither transfer nor take land by last will for any purposes, personal or charitable. Lord Hardwicke, under whose auspices it was principally that the act passed the House of Lords (where there was even in that degraded age a great opposition to it), was at that very time vigorously enforcing the "Popery acts," as they were called,—the laws of James I. and Wil-

* Held by Polt, C. J., in a trial at bar. *Hacker v. Newborn*, Style's Reports.

† *Nelson v. Oldfield*, Vernon's Reports in Chancery.

‡ *Gess v. Tracy*, William's Reports.

§ *Bransby v. Kerridge*, Mss.

liam III.,—disabling Catholics from holding landed property. For he was a great hater of Popery himself (as all plunderers of religion are), and of what in our days would be called Puseyism; for he disallowed a bequest to teach chanting in a parish church. In plain truth, he was a Puritan; and the act was characterised by the sordid spirit and the inherent hypocrisy of Puritanism. Professing to be for the protection of relations from disinheritance, it applied only to charitable bequests, precisely the class as to which no cases of an improper character had occurred; while at the very same time the very same lawyers and legislators were engaged in enforcing and executing laws to disinherit Popish heirs, simply on account of their religion, and deciding cases which shewed that nefarious means were used, and pernicious influence exercised, not for charity, but for self. Thus, in 1754, a case came before Lord Hardwicke himself as chancellor, in which a gentleman had transferred his property to his footman. The gift was set aside by Lord Hardwicke, not under the act of George II., but under the common law rule, thus laid down by the court—that where either fraud has been used, or the gift be large and without apparent motive, so as to excite suspicion of undue influence, yet the court would set it aside.*

The reign of Elizabeth in every respect was the beginning of a new era in the history of charitable trusts; an era ending with the reign of George I. From the accession of Elizabeth the predominant feeling of the country was in favour of charity, using that term in the Protestant sense. The Church, the crown, the legislature, the people, and the lawyers, gave every kind of encouragement to pious purposes, by facilitating death-bed bequests, the only manifestations of charity of which Protestants were found capable,—all very well so far as it went, of course, at all events for the objects of the charity; as to the donors and the testators, that was quite another affair, and it will not do to examine too curiously: we merely say, better late than never; better tardy charity than none at all. Those who defer charity till they are dying shew little of the grace; but those who would prevent them doing it then, shew still less, and add hypocrisy to want of charity. Yet this act was construed by the courts most harshly against charities. Sir F. Palgrave says:* “The act of Elizabeth received a large and liberal interpretation in favour of charities. The act of George II. struck a blow at charities, and has been construed strictly against charities, in the letter and not in what is to be conceived the spirit of the statute, and for the purpose of repressing charities; there have been

* Evidence before Committee of 1844.

decisions against the spirit and even against the letter of the act."

What were the topics urged in the legislature in favour of this measure? All anti-catholic, and therefore anti-christian. The debate in the Lords is truly instructive. The legislature of the Reformation had robbed the religious houses of their property; the legislature of the Revolution, far more cruel, tried to traduce their character, and added calumny to robbery. Nothing could exceed the vulgarity and malignity of the imputations which noble lords were not ashamed to cast upon the monastic institutions which had given to England all that was really valuable; her Church, her crown, her realm, her liturgy, her liberty, her laws, her literature, her cathedrals, her colleges, her charities, and her schools. True descendants of the courtiers of Henry VIII., who had divided the spoils of religious houses, the courtiers of George II., with odious union of hypocrisy and mendacity, sought to veil or varnish over their iniquity. Like them of old of whom our Lord spake with such crushing severity, their fathers killed the prophets, and they themselves heaped upon their sepulchres all the odium that hatred could accumulate or malice could invent, such hatred as the robbers bear the robbed, such malice as the murderer feels for his victim! Not one of those "noble" slanderers and plunderers but had his estate enlarged by some of the lands of the religious houses they traduced; yet one of them had the impudence to speak of the rapacity of the popish clergy! The rapacity of the robbed spoken of by the robbers! And then, with the unconscious inconsistency with which the blind mendacity of malice betrays itself, he said: "It was a fortunate thing for their lordships, that the power of devising land by last will had not been given in popish times, or they would probably hardly have had any land by this time in the hands of laymen;" while in the same breath he spoke of the monasteries as having been for ages maintained by the "terrors of dying men." Why, was this nobleman so ignorant as not to know that the religious houses were all founded, and for the most part if not entirely endowed by gift, not by last will? His mendacity was as ignorant as it was malignant; or rather relied upon the ignorance ever accompanying prejudice. Its object was to increase this prejudice, and under cover of the bigoted and besotted animosity against Popery which prevailed among a nation whose very statesmen were swindlers, and whose legislature was as disgraced by bribery as bigotry, to carry a measure against charity. Hence Lord Hardwicke talked of "clergymen of the Church of England watching the beds of

dying men as eagerly as ever friars or monks did in the darkest days of popery:" (pretty times those to talk of dark days! darkness not of Catholicism, but of atheism, then hung over this unhappy land!) but he need not have been alarmed, or rather his alarm took as much the wrong direction as to his own clergy as it was wholly illusory with regard to the Catholic clergy. No case had ever arisen, nor has hitherto arisen, of any Protestant minister watching death-beds, or eagerly procuring dispositions of property *for the benefit of charity*. Such cases as have arisen of "spiritual influence" on the part of Protestant ministers, have been cases in which the "spiritual influence" was by no means exerted for spiritual purposes, but for purposes purely selfish, private, and personal, and for the sake of no religion but what Sir A. Cockburn called the religion of the breeches-pocket!

Let us give a specimen or two, just in order to appreciate poor Lord Hardwicke's hypocritical simulations of alarm. In 1764 occurred a case which the chancellor (Lord Henley) who decided it expressly said was the first that had come into a court of justice, of any influence being exercised by a minister of religion. A hypocritical methodistical rascal wrote to a weak-minded lady in this strain: "Though unknown to you in the flesh, from the report I have of you I make bold to address you as a fellow-member of that consecrated body wherein the fulness of the Godhead dwells." The sequel may be suspected from the style of the commencement; and, without transcribing any more of the blasphemous stuff the wretch wrote, suffice it to say, that he shortly contrived to swindle the poor lady out of a large property by deed of gift, which the chancellor with great alacrity set aside as fraudulent, observing with great gusto, "His counsel tried to shelter him under the denomination of an Independent preacher; I have endeavoured by my decree to spoil his independency!"* This case clearly shews two things;—that weak people are as likely to be imposed upon when living as when dying, and that parties are likely to impose upon them rather for their own sakes than for charity.

So in another similar case occurring before Lord Eldon at the commencement of the present century,† in which a clergyman of the Church of England was concerned, this "spiritual influence" was exercised for purposes not charitable but personal, and the reverend gentleman got the property for himself.

It was not until about this time, at the close of the last century, that the popish acts of James I. and William III. pro-

* *Norton v. Reilly*, Eden's Reports.

† *Hazleman v. Bazeley*, 14 Vesey's Reports.

hibiting papists from possessing lands were repealed; and even when they were repealed the courts took care that the repeal should be no good to Catholic charity; for Sir William Grant decided that even a legacy for a Catholic school was illegal,* as "contrary to the policy of the law," a clear confession on the part of that celebrated judge that the policy of Protestantism was persecution. And if the power of prejudice was so great over a mind like his, what must it have been upon those inferior minds which compose the mass of society! This prejudice was kept up by the mendacious misrepresentations of all legal and historical writers after the Revolution, and the tone of all text-books was the same as that of the discreditable debate on the law against charity in the "dark days" of George II.

It is curious to observe the way in which, with servile fidelity, each succeeding Protestant writer copied the falsehoods of the preceding. Thus, in 1756, Lord Chief Baron Gilbert, a "great gun" among lawyers, writing his treatise on wills, indited the following passage, which of itself is enough to stamp with equal infamy the man who wrote it, and the age in which it was received as truth: "The law did not allow of devises of land until the invention of uses, which were first found out by the clergy to evade the statutes of mortmain," [which the reader has already learnt were dispensed with in favour of the clergy on payment of a fine, so that there was no necessity for evasion]; "for when those acts prohibited them from making any further purchases of land," [which was not prohibited,] "they introduced the distinction between the use and the property; and as they generally sat in chancery, where these uses were solely cognisable, they suffered them to be disposed of by will, rightly judging that men are most liberal when they can enjoy their possessions no longer, and therefore at their death would choose to dispose of them to those who only could promise them happiness in another world." It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that the vast majority of religious houses were founded in Saxon or early Norman times, centuries before "uses" were introduced, and when the law did not allow of alienation of land by last will, and were in fact founded not by last will but by gift. What will the reader say, however, when he finds the passage copied almost literally into Blackstone's *Commentaries*, published about ten years afterwards, and thence re-copied into all following editions down to the present day, in which we have seen those precise expressions made use of in a leading article in the leading newspaper! What an

* *Cary v. Abbott.*

illustration of the traditions of Protestantism, by which its blind prejudice against Catholicism is kept up! In the face of all history, Blackstone, and all his copyists, talk of the mortmain laws as passed to restrain the rapacity of the clergy, and prevent the lands of England from being "swallowed up!" the simple truth being, that they did not prevent a single acre of land passing to the Church, and most certainly could not have been passed with that intention, seeing that they only applied to alienations of feudal lands to corporate bodies, and only imposed a fine on the alienation, and did not interfere at all with alienations to persons not incorporate in trust for religious purposes!

However, from the Revolution until 1790, Catholics could not possess land at all, and then the penal laws were construed to prevent them holding land for religious purposes. It was not until after 1829 that these penal laws were repealed; and the act called "O'Connell's Act," passed in 1831, was one of the first-fruits of emancipation and reform, legalising the acquisition of land for Catholic religious purposes. This was, however, subject to the act of George II. against testamentary dispositions of land for religious purposes, and only allowing other dispositions by deed enrolled; and it was also subject to the statute of superstitious uses, which, it was soon found, rendered endowment in most Catholic cases impracticable, and consequently dispositions of land avowedly for such purposes unlawful.

In 1835 occurred a case before the late Lord Cottenham, illustrating the position in which the law still placed Catholic charities.* A lady had left property in trust to Sir Henry Lawson and Mr. Simon Scroope, the defendant being executor. With her will she left a testamentary paper, leaving out of this property legacies to different Catholic priests and chapels; adding, "whatever I have left to priests or chapels, it is my wish and desire that the sums may be paid as soon as possible, that I may have the benefit of their prayers and masses." And by a letter of the same date, addressed to her trustees, she expressed her confidence that they would appropriate the property in the manner most consonant to her wishes, for the benefit of the priests' prayers for the repose of her soul. Part of the property was connected with land, and was confiscated under the act of George II., prohibiting any disposition of such property by will for religious or charitable purposes; and the rest was confiscated (except a small portion left for schools) under the statute of "superstitious uses;" Lord Cottenham saying "the sums given to the priests and chapels were not intended for the benefit of the

* *West v. Shuttleworth*, 2 Mylne and Keen's Reports.

priests personally, or for the support of the chapels, but for the benefit of the prayers for the repose of the testatrix's soul,"—as if they could not have been for both objects! Such a decision could scarcely be satisfactory, and was not so, any more than the decision of Sir W. Grant in 1807. And as the one was not defended by such Protestants as the late Lord Langdale and Mr. Bethell,* the other has been denounced by such a Catholic as Mr. Anstey.† In 1841, however, occurred a case still more strikingly illustrating the difficulty in which the law placed Catholic dispositions of real property for charitable or religious purposes. This was the celebrated Brindle will case, of which the following is the substance:—A Catholic gentleman of large property, named Heatley, had for his nearest relatives two nieces, each of whom had 10,000*l.* in her own right, and for his confessor a certain priest named Sherburne. In his lifetime he bought an estate and conveyed it to Mr. Sherburne, remaining in possession during his life, and furnished Mr. Sherburne with the money to buy another estate, likewise receiving the rents during his lifetime; the object of both these arrangements being to evade the act of George II., which prevents a party from disposing of land for charitable purposes, reserving a life-interest to himself. By his will, Mr. Heatley left 6000*l.* to each of his nieces, with the Brindle estate, a farm, and some other property, and left the rest of his property to Mr. Sherburne absolutely, as if for his own benefit; leaving at the same time secret instructions, not legally testamentary, but purely of spiritual obligation, desiring legacies to be paid to Dr. Youens and other priests, and certain religious purposes to be provided for. One would have thought that the nieces might well have been satisfied, and have hoped that the Protestant penal laws might have been defeated. But one of the nieces had married a person named Eastwood, and he was not satisfied; and, although a Catholic, caused a bill in equity to be filed to set aside all the deeds and the will, either under the act of George II. against charitable testamentary dispositions, or the act of Edward VI., the so-called statute of superstitious uses, or lastly, as obtained "by undue spiritual influence." The case came before the court (Equity of Exchequer) at first upon the latter point; and the Lord Chief-Baron, the late Lord Abinger, said, truly enough, "every man makes his will under some influence. In the case of General Yorke, who left his property to his groom, Mr. Justice Chambre, the best lawyer of his day, said he 'hardly knew what undue influence was.'" Lord Abinger,

* See their argument in *West v. Shuttleworth*, 2 M. and K.

† See Evidence of 1851.]

however, soon found a definition of it to suit the case; his powerful mind, though superior to ignorance, was yet not proof against prejudice; and the practical result of his ruling of the law was, that undue influence was the influence of a popish priest; for he soon after said, "certainly a confessor has the highest species of influence, and it may be fraudulently used." So may a coachman's, as the case he had just cited shewed. Yet his prejudice was such, that the case of the confessor he looked at with peculiar suspicion; and subsequently he said, "I can easily conceive a case" (no doubt he might conceive any kind of case; but why should he have troubled himself to conceive this particular case?) "of a man even of strong mind being under the influence of such a superstitious terror, as that he might think it necessary for his salvation that he should give all his money to his priest or confessor" (Lord Abinger must have had a marvellously queer notion of the Catholic religion, and was clearly under superstitious terror, of the Catholic Church); "and if that were established, and a jury found such a degree of delusion as to deprive the man of the exercise of his free judgment, it would destroy the will." That was establishing rather a dangerous test: an ignorant Protestant jury, or even a jury not ignorant but under the undue influence of the prejudices and the superstitious terrors which obviously perverted poor Lord Abinger's mind, might imagine it a delusion in a testator to suppose that he was under any obligation to make restitution (letting alone any duty of charity); and most assuredly would consider a legacy for masses or prayers as superstitious, as the law indeed declares it. And this was the very reason for the property being left to the priest absolutely, without the declaration of trust which in the preceding case had enabled Lord Cottenham to confiscate the bequests. This put the priest in a dilemma, which Lord Abinger used most disingenuously. The spiritual trusts were secret; the bequest was legally personal; if the trusts were religious, they were illegal as superstitious; if there were no trusts, the bequest was obtained by the priest's undue influence for his own benefit. Under such unfavourable circumstances, and invested beforehand with as much as possible of prejudice, the case went to trial at Liverpool, happily before a just judge, Mr. Baron Rolfe, the present Lord Cranworth. The plaintiff's case was gone through under the auspices of his advocate, the late lamented Sir William Follett, who "went down special" for the occasion, and exhibited all his matchless ability and his unrivalled skill. The case for Mr. Sherburne was then opened by the leader of the circuit, the present Mr. Justice Creswell,

in a speech of twelve hours' length; and he was proceeding with the evidence, when Sir W. Follett, for the plaintiff, proposed a compromise, which was speedily assented to, Sir William distinctly withdrawing all imputation as to the validity of the will, and the judge emphatically declaring, "If such a will could be set aside, no man's will would be safe;" the compromise only being agreed to by Mr. Sherburne under pressure of that dilemma in which he was placed by the law of George II. on the one hand, and the "statute of superstitious uses" on the other.

Such was the state of the law when, in 1844, the first mortmain committee was appointed, the result of whose inquiries was overwhelmingly against the law restraining testamentary dispositions for pious purposes, but whose opinions were so far influenced by the anti-catholic prejudices in which it originated, that they could not concur in a report recommending its repeal, and with flagrant injustice tried to foster these prejudices by getting up cases of Catholic wills in which undue clerical influence was charged. Irrespective of the falsehood of these imputations, it is a very remarkable fact that whereas in all Protestant cases the influence is always exercised for self, in Catholic cases it is for charity. In truth, however, there was no foundation for these imputations and suspicions, and the solitary case adduced was that just described, in which the plaintiff's counsel and the Protestant judge had emphatically exonerated the priest; yet so impervious is prejudice to conviction, that the committee were not satisfied, but ripped up the case again, and actually perpetrated the injustice of allowing Eastwood, the defeated suitor, to come before them, and, unsworn, to repeat the calumnious imputations he had by his counsel solemnly withdrawn in open court, and which were contradicted by evidence given under the obligation of an oath! and all this unsworn scandalous matter was published by the committee with a sort of semi-apology for the iniquity!

The object of most of those men who favoured the repeal of the law of George II. as respects Protestants, was to support the prejudices which such writers as Blackstone had created and kept up about the "rapacity of the popish clergy," and the danger of death-bed bequests for pious purposes, in order to justify a retention of the law as regards Catholics. The result of the evidence, however, was quite the reverse; but it was casually elicited, not only that the law was evaded as to landed property, to which alone the act of George II. applies, but as to personal property, to which the statute of superstitious uses as much applies as to realty; and the means by which this was effected were discovered to be

the system of secret spiritual trusts. Hence arose a desire on the part of the more malignant Protestants, haters equally of Catholicity and charity, to devise excuses for extending the law against charitable testamentary dispositions to personalty, and to do away with the system of spiritual trusts which has formed the protection of Catholics against that law and the statute of superstitious uses. Those who had these objects eagerly seized the opportunity of the excitement about papal aggression, and got a committee to consider the whole subject, with the secret purpose of aiding this object by fostering the popular prejudices already referred to. For this purpose the case of *Carie* was laid hold of in England, and the nephew of the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin did his utmost to hunt out cases from the registry of uncle *Whately* to cast obloquy on the Catholic priesthood. All, however, miserably failed. The cases of nephew *Wale* signally miscarried: the case of *Carie* was simply a case of a man having 10,000*l.*, leaving 7000*l.* to the schools of a chapel, and 3000*l.* to his relatives, who, he said, cared not a straw about him; and not one case was discovered in which a Catholic testator had disregarded the reasonable claims of relations!

The conduct of the mortmain committee and the case of *Carie* cannot be entered upon. Our present article concerns only the robberies perpetrated by Protestant law upon religion and charity; and we have shewn that this law presses chiefly upon Catholic charities, while Catholic cases are exactly those in which there is no necessity for such a law.

CONVOCATION AT LAST.

CONVOCATION has met; and for the first time for some century and a half, the primate has not taken up his hat, as *Cromwell* did "that bauble," and dissolved the assembly. It meets in good earnest; it sits, it adjourns, it sits again. Seldom has there been a more momentous gathering of prelates, dignitaries, stirring archdeacons, and substantial incumbents. All the proceedings wear an imposing face of business, and members are evidently bent upon doing something at last. True it is, that a hundred and ninety-six clergymen of the diocese of *Winchester*, seventy-seven clergymen of the diocese of *Gloucester*, and the president and fellows of *Sion College*, have sent in petitions "against the revival of the active powers of Convocation." So that "to be, or not to be," is with some still

“the question; and whether it is nobler” in the Church of England—but we have not space for the rest of her soliloquy. Neither will we linger over the extraordinary—*apotheosis*, shall we call it, or travesty of a beatification?—of the Duke, which signalised the Latin sermon in St. Paul’s, when the preacher narrowly escaped invoking the shade of the mighty dead to inspire the assembly with a freedom from party zeal. We are firmly persuaded that, whatever may be the current tradition or pervading spirit of the Anglican body, there are at least many amongst them whose breasts swelled with indignation at such an exhibition of paganism in cassock and bands. Let us look rather on the bright side of things. In the Lower House, several estimable persons, whose sayings and doings can never be a matter of indifference to us, are working with a concentrated energy and an occasional half-conscious touch of alarm at their own proceedings, which reminds us forcibly of the Irishman in one of Hogarth’s pictures, sawing through the sign-post upon which he himself is seated. In vain does Archdeacon Garbett express fears which bishops and other sober-minded persons have expressed before him. They will not hear; and none are so deaf, says the proverb. So the Jerusalem Chamber, which once, by an unexpected turn of events, witnessed the death of a king, may haply—unless the strong arm of the state interfere to take away the razor—witness the suicide of a distracted communion.

Here, then, is reached the grand climacteric, the turn and crisis in the lingering life of the Establishment, so fondly anticipated by earnest but inconclusive minds. “Give us Convocation,” they have said for the last five years and more, and latterly their cry has grown louder and more loud; “Give us Convocation in default of a more canonical Church synod; let primate, bishops, and priests meet and declare, and we are then rid of our hopes or fears for ever. We shall know where we are standing, and what lies before us. Let the Church in Convocation decide upon baptism, the Eucharistic Presence, and points subordinate and leading to these. Either she decides right, and we dismiss as treasons and temptations all our inward misgivings of her Catholic character; or she decides wrong, and we have thenceforth no part or lot in her. She has proved faithless to herself and to the original deposit of belief, and can claim from us no allegiance. Our tents are struck over our heads; we find ourselves suddenly on the barren sands of the wilderness, and must seek a home without delay.” Most strange infatuation, that men of learning and of talent should have used such language as this, and not have recognised the

ignoratio elenchi which it involves; for surely the question is, not what shall, may, or can be done in the nineteenth century, but what *was* done in the sixteenth. It is not whether at this time of day, after manifold experience of the tendencies of conflicting schools of opinion, the Establishment shall make her final election in the dilemma before her; not, whether she shall re-assert a doctrine once declared, and now successfully questioned, define without equivocation points left obscure from her first beginning, and frame new assertions of doctrine to meet the exigencies of the time; or whether she shall neglect the demands of a large and energetic faction to preserve the greater happiness of the greater number, and steer her accustomed well-trimmed course, the even tenor of her way, with the *ne quid nimis* (not even of truth) of the ancient sage, or the *via media* of her modern champions, while

“*Doctrine she finds too painful an endeavour,
Content to dwell in compromise for ever.*”

Such forecastings are altogether beside the mark. The question is, not what the Establishment is going to *do*, but what she *is* who does it. She may yet do more than we ever expect to see her do. She might attain to the ritual solemnity of the Swedish Protestant body, the Catholicism at second-hand of the Irvingite communion-office, the dogmatic tenacity of the old high Lutherans, and the energetic missionary zeal of the Herrnhutters. We think all this very improbable; we are convinced that she is as incapable as water is, of rising permanently above her level. You may apply a force-pump, and produce a vast deal of bubbling and spouting for the time, whether at Westminster or elsewhere. But the sound and fury signify nothing. Imposing appearances mock and foam, until you face them; and then, like Undine's impalpable kinsfolk, subside into placid streamlets, and leave the real thews and sinews of earth, the powerful substantial forms of Rationalism and lawless Unbelief, to hold on their way unmolested. But imagine it for a moment to be otherwise. Were the dominant persuasion of England as powerful to assert exclusive doctrine as she is manifestly impotent; had Henry of Exeter found his way to the Tower instead of firing blank cartridges from Bishopstowe, and signalled himself as a confessor instead of a pamphleteer; could we see the mass of country benefices held by George Herberts, the length and breadth of the land studded with communities of Nicholas Ferrars, and all the “signs of life” of which it has become the fashion to speak, overspreading the face of things:—still we should undauntedly “move the previous question.” Marvel we might, or speculate, or analyse with increased

curiosity the component parts of that ingenious machine of statecraft, whose golden cramps and silken bands have held it together (though not without attrition) these three hundred years: one thing we never could be,—disturbed in our conviction that what in its origin was earthly and human has not by this time become affiliated to a higher sphere. Nothing can come of nothing; and that which in its youthful and better days had no divine characteristics, has not acquired them in its decrepitude.

There is then, we say, a previous question, not depending upon individuals, or symptoms, or tardy concessions of the state, or turns in present events, however great and important. That question involves the following items, amongst others:

1. When, in 1559, Elizabeth issued a mandate to Barlow, Scorey, and the rest, for Parker's consecration, and in a saving clause supplied of her supreme royal authority whatever deficiency there might be according to the statutes of the realm, or the laws of the Church, either in the acts done by them, or in the person, state, or faculty of any of them, such being the necessity of the case and the urgency of the time; what remedy could that document afford to the defectiveness to which it significantly refers?

2. When, on the revision of the Prayer-Book in the reign of Charles II., the form of consecration was altered from its first unmeaning vagueness to one which, coupled with a Catholic intention, would have been sufficiently Catholic; what was the value of this *post-mortem* arrangement, seeing that the bishops who were to continue the supposed succession had themselves received imposition of hands under the defective form, and with an intention as defective? What was the subsequent act but a solemn avowal of the invalidity of the former?

3. Supposing that Parker and his successors were as truly bishops as St. Augustine and St. Anselm; what are their flocks the gainers, if they are pledged to heresies that contradict the original divine tradition of faith?

4. Supposing the Articles and Homilies to be repudiated by the united voice of the Anglican communion, her doctrine to be reformed on a true not a pseudo primitive model, and asceticism to flourish within her in the place of unmitigated self-indulgence; yet, if she be severed from the centre of unity, from the chair of St. Peter, what standing-ground has she which is not swept away by St. Augustine's reasoning against the Donatists?

These are some preliminary points which we would gladly see mooted in the Jerusalem Chamber. That the present

meeting of Convocation, like all similar discussions on a smaller scale, will drive them more and more home to the minds of thinking men, we cannot doubt. We fondly anticipate that some, now actively discussing points which, compared to those suggested, are as nothing, will pause in the labour of adding new pinnacles to their house till they have examined its foundations. It is here that we think some of them so inconsistent and forgetful of their former acts. Where, for example, are those sixteen hundred clergy who, some two years back, signed a document solemnly disowning the Royal supremacy in the sense which the crown lawyers (sensible men) had put upon it? Among all the *gravamina* and *reformanda* of Drs. Spry and Wordsworth, we look in vain for a syllable of this. Nay, the paper read by the former of these gentlemen, and which we conceive to mark out the line of subjects that the advocates for the revival of Convocation desire to discuss, whether in synod or committee, "began," says the *Times* report, "with acknowledging the supremacy of the Queen over all persons in all causes ecclesiastical as well as civil within her dominions." Was there no proctor then in the synod to represent those sixteen hundred signatures? Or were they *tantum ab illis Hectoribus mutati*?

We repeat it, the points proposed for discussion are utterly beside the mark. They come in well in the second place, but are meaningless in the first. Episcopal and pastoral extension? This is the cry of almost every Catholic country, certainly of every Catholic mission, in the world; but take care that they *are* true bishops and priests to begin with. Church education? Nothing better; provided you are secure of teaching your children the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. The training of the clergy? *A fortiori*; for you there have to teach the teachers. Efficient means for clerical discipline? We do not under-rate the need; but the first preservative should be valid sacerdotal grace. A court of appeal? From what to what? From the Church-patronising State to the State-patronised Church? this is but transferring the guinea from one waistcoat-pocket to the other. A free ecclesiastical confirmation of bishops elect? This would be to establish a flaw in one of the most precious of the crown-jewels. The cathedral chapter commission? To meddle with that, "might," as Archdeacon Garbett rightly warns them, "easily draw the House into a direct conflict with the prerogative of the crown." Burial and other anomalies? Alas, by breaking the allegiance of unity, the Establishment has lost her hold upon the masses of her population. *Κακοῦ κόρακος κακὸν ὦόν*, the undutiful daughter is

punished in her children. Her efforts in foreign parts? "How shall they preach except they be sent?" Lastly, a little abuse, dignified or undignified (as it may happen), of "the See of Rome," is the *repetita crambe* of all such entertainments. Still, after all these ten points, together with the peroration, we come back to the old puzzle of the Hindu mythology. The earth, according to the Brahmins, is supported on the back of a primeval elephant. Good: and the elephant itself? The feet of the elephant rest upon the shell of an immeasurable tortoise. *Et puis*; the tortoise? Further deponent sayeth not. So here: Convocation decrees the necessity of Church extension. But on what rests the character of that Church which is to be extended? On the assertion of her catholicity by a few individuals within her, under the very guns of a whole battery of facts, past and present. And on what rest these assertions? We leave Courayer and Dr. Pusey to the mercies of the Hardouins and Le Quietus of a former century, and the Döllingers and Perrones of the present. When the fins of the tortoise have found any resting-place but the unsubstantial air, it will be time for that synod which is at present the voice of a non-existent Church, to define, to legislate, to decree extension and reform.

On one point, at least, it must be owned that Dr. Spry and those who think with him in the Lower House, together with Dr. Wilberforce in the Upper, take a bold line; namely, about the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy, and the consequent ignoring of the Established Church. And if blowing of trumpets could be admitted in proof of a righteous quarrel, we might well feel ourselves annihilated by the Marathonian blast which thus shatters the air: "Our Church (they say) in its corporate capacity ought now to have an opportunity of recording its solemn protest against that denial in the face of Christendom." It would be a sight to see, the ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα that would irradiate the face of Christendom on the issuing of such a protest! We chance to be acquainted with some of the features that compose that countenance. And what do these reverend gentlemen, in their soberer moods, imagine to be the conviction of the Catholic Churches of Austria with the rest of Germany, of France, Holland, the United States, together with the Greeks, united or schismatic, as to the existence or non-existence of their Anglican "sister"? A high-church friend of ours once returned in the best of spirits from a voyage among the Copts of Upper Egypt, because a deacon had incensed him, and (we believe) a bishop had gone far towards offering him communion: a story that sounded well enough until it appeared that the poor Copts were not only

sunk in ignorance, but even on Anglican shewing wrong in some essential particulars. We apprehend that the Coptic portion of Christendom will be the only one to preserve a decent gravity of countenance when the thunders of Convocation go abroad.

Let it not be thought, however, that we look upon this sitting of Convocation with feelings of regret; on the contrary, we hail it with the utmost joyfulness, because we are sure that it will result in more than is contemplated by Dr. Wilberforce,—“the heads of a bill to be submitted to Her Majesty.” It will go further than the correction of delinquent clerks. Such stirrings of great questions within the bosom of the Establishment are instruments in the Divine Hand for sending individual souls into the Catholic Church. How many are there now enjoying the blessings of faith and peace within her fold, who owe an infinite debt of gratitude to such men as Mr. Gorham and Dr. Sumner, Dr. Longley and Dr. Hook! Had the Anglican authorities uniformly pursued the tranquil policy of the elder Pharaohs, the men of whom we speak might have been in Egypt still. But argument and controversy in a sect must needs be a disintegrating process; and the deeper it works, the more surely will portions become detached from the mass, and the neighbour particles crumble in without filling the hollow. The only security for a body composed of such unassimilating elements, is to shut up all discordant questions together like a refractory jury, without food, fire, or candle, till they can tolerate one another, if not in spirit, yet enough for a compromise by way of verdict. Such has been, most wisely, the policy of the Anglican bench; but it is no longer possible to them. The late primate was accustomed simply to acknowledge communications addressed to him by individuals or bodies disquieted upon doctrine, and there to leave the matter. There was urbanity and discretion, but a most unsatisfactory negative blank, in this proceeding. It served the turn, however, and staved off collisions even of a lighter kind. His successor has fallen upon more evil days. Men are no longer content to ask questions vitally affecting them, and to put up with a courteous evasion in reply. The tottering throne of Lambeth must now submit to a grand review of its troops, steadfast or disaffected alike, since the majority insist on being reviewed, and is nervously alive to the possibility of a partial revolt, or the extermination of certain among its Janissaries. We watch the tumult from an eminence, thrilled with the consciousness of safety, but by no means without interest and sympathy for those engaged:

“Non quia vexari quenquam est jucunda voluptas,
Sed quibus ipse malis careas quia cernere suave est.”

We shall look over with intense solicitude the returns of the killed and wounded. We are ready at any moment, like the friar in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, to run in upon a fight with which we have otherwise no concern, and afford to any “black Musgrave” of them all such aid as may be within our power. Or, rather, in the accident wards of that vast spiritual hospital in which the healing ministries of the Church Catholic are dispensed to all submitted to her treatment, we have ever a cot prepared, and lint and ointments in readiness, for such of the disabled combatants as can drag themselves out of the press, give up a lost cause, and think of their personal wounds in the encounter. Sabred within an inch of their lives, they may yet thankfully “live to fight another day” in the one only service in which they can hold a true commission.

THE FLIGHT OF THE POPE.

A true and authentic Account of the Flight of the Pope from Rome to Gaeta, on the 24th of November, 1848. By the Countess de Spaur, Wife of the Bavarian Minister in Rome.

A STORY is told of Sir Walter Raleigh, that having heard some eight or ten different versions of an accident which he had himself witnessed, he was almost persuaded to abandon his idea of writing the History of the World, from utter hopelessness of ever arriving at the truth about any thing. Something of the same feeling has often come over ourselves with reference to any history that we have yet read of the late Roman Revolution. We were present throughout the whole of it, excepting only the closing scene of the drama, the siege and its consequences; but we have read such different accounts of much that we ourselves saw, and such improbable accounts of what we did not see, that we have long since resigned ourselves to a state of vague uncertainty about many of its details. The following is at least an authentic account of one of the most remarkable of its incidents, about which there have been many contradictory rumours; and as we have reason to believe that it is new to many of our readers, we make no apology for presenting it to them. We translate and abridge it from a letter of the Countess de Spaur herself, published in the *Revue des Revues* of June 1852.

The first intimation which the Count de Spaur received of the difficult but most honourable enterprise which was to be entrusted to his care, was from the lips of Cardinal Antonelli on the 22d inst. The attack upon the Quirinal, and the proclamation of the ministry of Galletti, Sterbini, and their companions, had taken place on the evening of the 16th. On the 21st, our Holy Father received that touching relic of his predecessor Pope Pius VI., the pyx in which he had always borne the most holy Eucharist about him during the journeyings of his exile in France. It was now sent by the Bishop of Valence to Pope Pius IX., with a letter dated the 15th of October, in which he says that he offers him this simple but interesting relic, as being the heir of the name, the see, the virtues, and almost the tribulations of the great Pius VI., though he earnestly trusts that he will never have occasion to apply it to the same use. "Nevertheless," he adds, "who can tell the secret designs of God in the trials which his Providence permits your Holiness to experience?" The receipt of this letter seems very naturally to have had a powerful effect in causing his Holiness to decide upon a measure that had been already proposed to him, viz. that he should retire from his states; and accordingly, on the following day, the Cardinal Secretary of State communicated this intention to the Bavarian Minister, telling him that the Pope had come to the resolution of quitting Rome, *not* for the safety of his own person, which he would willingly have exposed to still greater dangers, but for the interest of the Apostolic See, and that in the difficult position in which he now found himself he should gladly receive the aid of a man of tried fidelity and devotion, such as the Count de Spaur. It appears that since the events of the 16th, the Count and Countess had not unfrequently, in private conversation, talked of the possibility of such a proposal as this; but now that it was brought home to her as an immediate prospect, the courage of the Countess gave way, and she was tempted for a moment to deter her husband from so serious and hazardous an undertaking. Seeing him resolved, however, she soon recovered, and applied herself to making the necessary preparations for the departure, which was fixed for the day but one following. It is needless to say that the agitation of her feelings caused her both to lose her appetite and her rest; her friends and relatives anxiously inquired the cause of her distress, and were very imperfectly satisfied by the explanation she was able to give them, viz. that her husband was obliged to go to Naples immediately to regulate certain affairs between the two courts, and that, as she was to accompany him, she was overwhelmed with little do-

mestic troubles and difficulties. However, every thing was prepared and arranged for her departure at six o'clock on the morning of the 24th, and her brothers came to see her off; but what was their surprise to find that she was going *alone*, at least as far as Albano, "where the Count would join her as soon as he had despatched some very pressing business which could not be postponed." ? It was in vain that one of the brothers petitioned to be allowed to go thus far in the Count's stead; one excuse was invented after another; and at last the Countess, her son, his tutor, and two servants, were allowed to depart without further hindrance.

In Rome, the secret had been confided to a faithful few, and these now proceeded to play the part assigned to them. At five o'clock in the evening, the French Ambassador, the Duc d'Harcourt, presented himself at the Quirinal and demanded an audience of his Holiness. He was immediately admitted; and this was the signal for the Pope to exchange the white cassock and skull-cap, and the red morocco shoes with the embroidered cross, which are the ordinary tokens of his high dignity, for the plain black dress of a simple priest. The only other means of disguise he had recourse to were a pair of green spectacles. Thus attired, he withdrew through a door which opened upon some uninhabited rooms, until he came to a passage called the corridor of the Swiss; but here an unexpected difficulty presented itself. The door which led into this corridor had not been used for very many years, and refused to yield to the efforts of his Holiness and a trusty servant who tried to force it open. The poor Duc d'Harcourt was listening with the most intense anxiety for the sound of the carriage-wheels that should be now passing under the gateway, conducting the Pope in safety out of the Quirinal, and nearly fainted when, instead of hearing the desired sound, he saw the Pope himself re-enter the room, and learnt from him the untoward accident. Whilst they were discussing what was best to be done, Filipani came in to say that the unfortunate door was at length opened. They proceeded, therefore, to pass through it, and finding that it was as difficult to shut as it had been to open, they left it ajar. But this again was very nearly causing the whole plan to fail; for a certain officious personage, an officer of the court, happening to pass that way, insisted upon knowing the why and the wherefore of this mysterious novelty. He began to make a grand stir about it, and so did the Pope's brother also, Count Gabriel Mastai, who seems to have known nothing of the intended flight; but meanwhile the Holy Father, still in the company of his faithful house-steward, had entered the carriage prepared for him

(which was a carriage that had been purposely made to go backwards and forwards several times during the day, as if on the ordinary requirements of the palace), and passed through the great gates, in the midst of a crowd of sentinels and civic guardsmen, not only without being suspected, but even without being looked at.

Whilst all this was going on at the palace, the Count de Spaur left his house at five o'clock in a little open carriage, accompanied by a German servant, and drove leisurely through the streets of Rome, by way of the Coliseum and the Baths of Titus, in the direction of the church of SS. Peter and Marcellinus, of which church the Pope had formerly been the Cardinal Protector. This spot had been agreed upon as the place of meeting; but the delay which had been occasioned by the refractory door caused the Pope to fail in keeping his engagement with punctuality. This made the Count extremely uneasy; however, at last he had the satisfaction of hearing at some distance the measured paces and jingling rattle of an old and heavy carriage; and by and by this superannuated equipage drew near to his own, and stopped. Both its occupants dismounted; one entered the *calèche* of the Count, the servant returned into the other, and both carriages went along together to the broad space in front of St. John Lateran. Here the old state-vehicle was drawn up under the shadow of a dark wall, until the faithful steward had had the satisfaction of seeing his master pass safely and unchallenged through the gates of Rome, when he immediately returned to the palace.

Meanwhile the Countess was half dead with anxiety in the hotel at Albano; she had ordered dinner at three, saying that she expected her husband to join her about that time from Frascati, but in reality, with the intention of anticipating any surprise they might feel if she were at once to announce to them the very late hour at which she really intended to resume her journey. She pretended to wait dinner for him till four, and then went through the ceremony of sitting down to a meal she could not touch. Her son was in the greatest distress at the evident uneasiness of his mother, and after having gone to the church of the *Madonna della Stella*, to which there is great devotion in Albano, there to offer up his prayers for her, he implored her upon his return, with tears in his eyes, to tell him what danger threatened his father, or what it was that made her so miserable. At last she confided both to him and to his tutor that the Count had taken upon himself to bring from Rome a great personage, and that if the enterprise failed he might be seriously compromised. She begged them,

therefore, to be very cautious, and not to evince any surprise when they should meet the fugitive ; a condition which they promised to comply with, nothing doubting but that the individual in question would prove to be the Cardinal Secretary of State. Having so far admitted them into her confidence, she was able to employ her son to watch an opportunity of secretly removing the candles from the carriage-lamps, a precautionary measure which was cleverly executed, and obliged her at a later hour in the evening to go through the form of scolding the servant for his apparent carelessness.

When the hour had passed at which either the servant should have arrived to bid the Countess quit Albano to go and meet the travellers, or else, in case of any accident having happened, to bid her return to Rome, she became seriously alarmed ; yet, whilst in this state of inward torture, she had to entertain some indifferent friend, who chanced to hear of her arrival, and came to pay his respects. As soon as he had taken his leave, she retired into another room with her son and Father Liebl, where they recited some prayers together, and then awaited the future with trembling anxiety. Whilst they were thus occupied, the welcome sound of the expected servant's voice was heard, announcing that the Count had at length reached L'Ariccia, where he was waiting for them. "Immediately," says the Countess—for we must now allow her to tell her own story—"immediately taking courage, I gave orders for our departure. When we got down into the courtyard of the inn, seeing that there were no candles in the lamps, I affected to attribute this negligence to poor Frederic ; but I took care to give him no opportunity of exculpating himself, or of repairing his omission. When once we were in the carriage, we were not long in reaching L'Ariccia. The night was far advanced, the darkness most profound, and a storm of rain was threatening ; but as for me, my mind filled with so many fears, my body exhausted with fatigue and want of food, I felt myself seized with an inexpressible and momentarily increasing trouble, as I found the time approaching in which I was to be seated familiarly side by side with the venerated chief of our holy religion, without being able to prostrate myself at his feet, but obliged, on the contrary, to neglect those signs of respect which faith imposes on every Catholic, and which habit has rendered so natural to every Roman heart ; it was an effort which I scarcely felt that I was equal to. While occupied with these thoughts, we arrived at L'Ariccia ; we slackened our pace as soon as we had passed through the village, and began to descend slowly. In the profound darkness of the night my overstrained imagination continually

transformed every bush and rock which we passed into objects of fear; judge of my feelings, then, when, through the deep silence, I heard at a distance the sound of a shrill whistle. Robbers, bandits, or worse, are going to attack us, I thought; I gave ourselves over as lost. At the second whistle the carriage stops; I put my head out of the window to see what is the matter, and there I see the figure and uniform of a *carabiniere*;* immediately I turn pale and faint; my voice ceased; my throat refused to give any utterance. I recovered a little courage, however, when this man, addressing me in a very obsequious tone, said—‘Does your excellency want any thing?’ I then understood that this soldier had been posted there to guard the road, and that the whistle which I had heard was perhaps a signal agreed upon between the *carabiniere* and the postilions. Upon looking more closely, I distinctly perceived my husband in the midst of a group of men all in uniform; and behind him was a man dressed in brown, leaning his back against the paling which bordered the road. To him, then, I addressed the words that had been agreed upon, saying, ‘Doctor, pray get into my carriage (it was a very roomy berline); pray get in quickly, for I am not fond of travelling by night.’ A *carabiniere* then opened the door, and let down the step; ‘the doctor’ entered, and the soldier shutting the door, wished us a safe journey, adding, that we might be quite easy, for that the road was perfectly safe.

“Here, then, we were fairly started on our journey at ten o’clock at night. Our most holy Father and most clement Sovereign Pius IX. was sitting in the left corner of my carriage, Father Liebl opposite to him; I on his right hand, and my young son facing me. My husband and Frederic were in the seat behind the carriage. At first I made every effort to repress my words; but soon, being no longer able to control my heart, I gave way to the excess of my emotion, and expressed to the Holy Father, without regard to what the consequences might be, and forgetting that my companions would understand me, all the pain which I experienced at being obliged to dissemble my feelings, and what efforts it cost me not to fall on my knees before the august vicar of Jesus Christ; more especially since at that moment he bore upon his breast the most Holy Body of our Saviour, enclosed in the pyx that had been sent by the Bishop of Valence. The Holy Father, benevolently compassionating my emotion, answered, ‘Be tranquil, fear nothing; God is with us.’ Just then we arrived at Gensano. We changed horses there, and the lamps were lighted; the want of candles in them had in no slight degree

* One of the mounted *gens d’arme*.

favoured the entrance of the Pope into my carriage in the midst of the *carabinieri*. Now, the light shining upon his features, made my travelling companions at once recognise the Holy Father. I saw my son and his tutor look much surprised, and immediately each of them retreated into his corner, making himself as small as possible. For my part, I was scarcely less astonished, when I saw the little care which the Holy Father had taken to disguise that face which the love of his people but a short time since had reproduced in a thousand different likenesses, and dispersed into the most retired and most wretched parts of the country. During the whole journey he never ceased to address prayers to our Redeemer for his persecutors, and to say his breviary and other prayers with Father Liebl. At a quarter before six in the morning we arrived at Terracina; a few moments after having left it, he asked me to let him know when we were on the frontier of the two States. As soon as he heard from my mouth the words, "Holy Father, we are there," feeling himself to be now arrived in a place of security, he burst into tears, his heart being doubtless moved with profound and sublime sentiments; and then he returned thanks to the God of mercy, reciting the canticle appropriated to all occasions of thanksgiving by the custom of the Church. From Fondi to Mola di Gaëta nothing occurred, except a delay of some hours in the former town, in order to have a wheel mended. While this was being done, a prying person thought he recognised the Pope, whom he had seen some time previously, on the occasion of a journey to Rome. Being arrived within a mile or so of the town of Mola, we saw two persons approach our carriage; they opened the door on the side where the Pope was sitting, and, taking his hands, bathed them with tears. One of these two persons I saw at once was the Chevalier Arnao, secretary of the Spanish embassy; the other, although he did not appear unknown to me, was muffled up with so large a red cravat round his neck, and in so novel a costume, that I could not recall his name, until the Holy Father cried out, crossing his arms, 'I give Thee thanks, O Lord, for having also conducted here in safety the good Cardinal Antonelli.'

"Having reached Mola di Gaëta, we all went to the inn called that of *Cicero*, where Cardinal Antonelli and the Chevalier Arnao were not long in joining us. It was ten o'clock in the morning. The Pope and the Count de Spaur went upstairs first; we followed them, as also a young man whose face was concealed by his beard and whiskers. I looked at him somewhat doubtfully, when I was reassured by the Cardinal, who told me that it was the Count Louis Mastai, nephew of

the Pope, who, under pretence of a party of pleasure, had come to Mola di Gaeta the day before the departure of his Holiness. No one entered the Pope's chamber except the Count de Spaur, the Chevalier Arnao, and the Cardinal, who ordered some refreshment to be taken to him. After his Holiness, we too got some breakfast, the first meal I had made for the last three days. On rising from table, the two newcomers went in to receive the orders of the Pope, who wished to remain concealed and unknown, until the news of his arrival should have reached the King of Naples. To this end the Holy Father wrote to him the following letter :

“SIRE,

“The Roman Pontiff, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the Sovereign of the States of the Holy See, has found himself obliged by circumstances to abandon his capital, in order not to compromise his dignity, or to approve by his silence the excesses which have been and still are committed in Rome. He is at Gaëta, though but for a short time, not wishing in any manner to compromise your Majesty, or the tranquillity of your people.

“The Count de Spaur will have the honour of presenting this letter to your Majesty, and will tell you what time does not permit to relate regarding the place to which the Pope purposes immediately to retire.

“In calmness of mind, and with the most profound resignation to the decrees of God, he sends to your Majesty, to your Royal spouse, and to your whole family, the apostolical benediction.

“PIUS PAPA NONUS.

“Mola di Gaëta, Nov. 25, 1848.”

My husband having been charged to present this letter to the King of Naples, lost no time in getting into the carriage of M. Arnao, with whom also he changed passports ; and then took post horses to go with all speed to Naples. A few moments after his departure, which was at two o'clock in the afternoon, we went out of our inn to select a couple of carriages from among a number which were stationed there for hire. They looked ready to tumble to pieces ; however, the Pope, Father Liebl, and myself, got into the first, and into the second the Cardinal, M. Arnao, and my son ; as also my maid, who had come to join me in one of our carriages. In this order we proceeded towards the fortress of Gaëta, whither the Holy Father had resolved to retire, in order to be less seen, and in greater security. When we arrived at the gate of Gaëta, some officials asked for our passports, and we gave them that which my husband had left us ; and some of our company having been requested to present themselves to the commandant of the place, as soon as we had reached a little

inn, or more properly a miserable cottage, standing in the midst of a garden, and hence bearing the name of *Jardinet*, M. Arnao and the Cardinal went to the commandant, who was an old general, a Swiss, named Gross. And here a very curious incident occurred. The commandant, having seen by the passport that the new arrival was the representative of a German country, as soon as our travelling companions appeared before him, began to address them in his own native German. Instead of answering, the Italian and the Spaniard remained silent and embarrassed; whereupon the good gentleman, imagining that the Count, as he supposed the Chevalier Arnao to be, was deaf, repeated his words in a loud and sonorous voice. This time the Chevalier Arnao replied, that having been brought up in France, and since then having married a Roman lady, he had so completely forgotten his own language as to be unable to understand a syllable of it. The commandant then turned to the Cardinal, whom he took to be the Count's secretary; and when he found that he too did not answer any more than the other, he expressed no little surprise at learning that of two representatives of a foreign nation, neither understood the language; he began to suspect that these strangers must be two spies of the Roman rebels, come to examine the state of the fortress. However, being as polite as he was vigilant, and not wishing to fail either in courtesy or in discretion, he took his leave of them, giving them permission, however, to remain in the town. As soon as they had left him, he sent for an officer, whom he ordered to keep his eye on the inn of the *Jardinet*, where the stay of several strangers, newly arrived, was causing him, he said, considerable uneasiness. Shortly after, not feeling satisfied even with this precaution, he sent for the judge of the district, and charged him to go to our inn, in order that, under pretence of a visit to the Countess de Spaur, he might see if I had the air of a suspicious person, and if the descriptions in our passports tallied with our appearance; in short, he enjoined him to discover how and why we had come there, and then to bring him an exact report of every thing.

"While these persons, on the one hand, were taking such precautions against us, we, on the other, were accommodated in our modest abode in the following way. I have already mentioned that the house was entered by a court or little garden, leading to a room on the ground floor, which served at once for kitchen and for hall. At one end of this room was a steep and narrow staircase, which opened upon a small dark parlour, and to the right of this parlour was a room occupied at first by the Pope, but afterwards assigned to me and my maid for the

night. On the opposite side, another room was reached by crossing a passage and mounting a few steps; and beyond this kind of dining-room, up two wooden steps, was the apartment of our host. This latter I and my son had occupied when we first arrived; but it was afterwards given to the Holy Father for his bed-room. In the first room, which we have called the dining-room, beds were arranged for Father Liebl and for Maximilian; and on the other side of the innkeeper's room, in a sort of cellar or outhouse, filled with dried vegetables, Cardinal Antonelli and the Chevalier Arnao ensconced themselves as best they could. Such was the asylum which received Pius IX. on his departure from his palace of the Quirinal; and it was there that he now awaited the result of his letter to King Ferdinand of Naples. After he had taken some refreshment, which was carried to him by Father Liebl, we all sat down to table in the hall; and just as we had finished, we saw approaching us the judge and the officer whom the commandant had sent to examine us. As soon as Father Liebl perceived them, he ran to turn the key of the room in which the Pope was and shut him up, while we, that is to say, the Cardinal, Father Liebl, Chevalier Arnao, my son Maximilian, and myself, formed a circle in the dining-room in which to receive the judge and the officer. Each of us did our very utmost to conceal our secret, while our two visitors were equally bent upon penetrating it. The judge was the first to break the silence; he began by excusing himself and the general for not having been able sooner to pay their respects to the Countess de Spaur, alleging, in apology, the duties they had to attend to; the commandant, however, had charged him to say, that the following day he would not fail to come and place himself at my disposal, to conduct me over the fortress, and shew me all the details, this being, as he supposed, the object of our journey. And here the judge could not help expressing his surprise that a lady should find so much pleasure in seeing these things, as to make her forget all the inconveniences of a lodging which must necessarily prove any thing but agreeable to us. Then we in our turn evinced an equal degree of surprise, at finding that a clever and experienced man, such as we supposed our guest to be, should be so much astonished at the caprices of the fair sex, who, as is well known, often expose themselves to greater fatigues and annoyances for objects less interesting, and diversions much more frivolous. However, we added, that if we had been able to foresee so many disagreeables, we should probably have given up the pleasure of visiting Gaëta. Next, the judge asked us with much politeness for our passports, saying that

he wished to save us any trouble at the gate of the town. They would have been demanded of us on leaving, according to the rule established at all times in fortified places, and observed, with more than ordinary diligence in the present state of Europe, and more particularly of the Roman dominions, the nearest neighbours of Naples. Whilst speaking on this subject, he fixed his expressive eyes upon us most attentively. We replied by a sigh, and by joining with him in his lamentations over the situation of our poor Rome, and we deplored the misfortunes of the time, and the crimes which were being every where committed. Meanwhile I had given him my passport, which he examined minutely, and with the air of a man who understood his business, and then returned it to me with a sort of regret, as if disappointed to have neither seen nor heard any thing which might serve to dissipate or to confirm the suspicions of the commandant of the place. He was on the point of leaving us, when the officer, who until now had remained standing in silence behind my chair, wishing, doubtless, to expose us to the last trial by abruptly communicating to us a piece of news that could not fail to surprise us, and might perhaps be the means of discovering some indication of our secret, asked my permission to speak; then entering upon the matter without any further ceremony, he told me plainly that the report was current that there were two Cardinals in disguise among us. I immediately answered that doubtless he had long since recognised in me one of these distinguished personages, since I really was such, and that now therefore he had only to look for the other among my travelling companions, in order to be quite certain that he had discovered them both. By this joke, accompanied with much laughter from all around, we put an end to the visit of the judge and officer. The moment they were gone, his Holiness appeared at the door of his room, looking at us with kindness. We fell upon our knees, and he gave us his blessing in the name of the Lord; after which each sought his place of retreat, and tried to get some sleep.

“Meanwhile my husband had used the greatest diligence in travelling to Naples, where he arrived at eleven o’clock the same evening; and going immediately to the palace of the Apostolic Nuncio, he arrived there before M. Garibaldi had come in. It was not long, however, before he returned, and the Count immediately presented himself to him, saying that he was charged by his Holiness to present a letter of the highest importance to the King of Naples, and that he begged him to procure him instantly an audience of his Majesty, saying that he must hold him responsible for all the consequences

that might ensue, if he did not obtain it. On hearing these words, the worthy and zealous prelate immediately re-entered the carriage which he had just quitted, and drove at once to the palace without losing a moment; he went to the king, who was not a little surprised at seeing him at this unusual hour. He faithfully repeated to his Majesty the Count's message, and the king ordered that he should instantly be sent for. The Nuncio then proceeded to an hotel near the palace, the Hotel de Rome, where he waited till the Count had changed his dress. He then conducted him to the palace; and M. Garibaldi remained below in his carriage, according to the directions he had received from the king, who was anxious to excite as little curiosity as possible among the household, and also probably wished the Count to be able to speak with more freedom. The Count then being admitted alone into the presence of the king, respectfully presented to him the letter of the Sovereign Pontiff. His Majesty, while reading it, shewed unequivocal signs of profound emotion; he embraced the Count, and, on taking leave of him, desired him to be ready to accompany him to Gaëta the following morning at six o'clock. On leaving the king, my husband went at once to the Nuncio, to whom he confided the secret of the letter which he had brought; M. Garibaldi replied that he had already conjectured it; they then separated, and my husband returned to the Hotel de Rome. There, well pleased with the fortunate issue of his embassy, and worn out with so long and rapid a journey, he retired to bed with the hope of enjoying a few hours of repose. But soon after lying down, and long before the hour fixed, he heard himself called; they came to tell him that the king was waiting for him. Rising with all speed, he hurried to the palace, and as soon as he was introduced into the king's chamber, he was surprised and profoundly touched to see how this prince, animated by a truly religious spirit, had been able in so short a time to assemble all his family around him, in order that he might prepare to receive the Roman Pontiff with all possible honours. The king had himself thought of every thing, provided every thing; he had sent to inform the persons of the court; he had assembled two regiments, and caused to be put in readiness a quantity of furniture and other articles with which the little palace of Gaëta was unprovided; he had even ordered trunks to be filled with shirts and linen, very justly supposing what was really the fact, viz. that the Holy Father had left Rome without any supply of the most necessary articles. Every one having embarked at the appointed hour upon two steamboats, my husband, at the invitation of the king, joined the court,

which was composed of the several members of the royal family, of General Prince D'Aci, Majors Nunziente, de Yong, and Steiger, the Marchioness del Vasto, and several others; all these then started for Gaëta, on board the *Tancred*.

"It was now Sunday, and we had risen very early to go and hear mass at six o'clock in the church of the Annunciation, leaving the Pope and Father Liebl in the inn, as we did not think it prudent to expose him to the view of the public. Whilst we were in church, Captain Rodriguez (the same officer who had visited us the evening before, in company with the judge, M. Francis Guerri) announced to the Chevalier Arnao, addressing him as the minister of Bavaria, that the ambassador of France, who had arrived from Rome in a steamer during the night, was asking for him. They went together on board the vessel, the *Tenare*, which had in charge the baggage and the suite of his Holiness. The ambassador, as soon as he saw them, being entirely ignorant of the departure of the Count for Naples, and of the exchange of passports, called M. Arnao by his real name; and that in presence of the commandant Gross, who had gone there to fulfil the duties of his office. The secretary of the Spanish embassy, seeing the perplexity which the words of the French ambassador caused the commandant, went up to him, and begged him to excuse him for having presented himself with the passport of the minister of Bavaria, because the latter, having been obliged to leave in all haste for Naples, by order of the Pope, and being separated from his family, who wished to see Gaëta, they had been obliged to change passports, in order that the one might be able to enter Naples freely, while the others were admitted into the fortress. The commandant then inquired, if at least I were the real Countess de Spaur; and the Chevalier having answered in the affirmative, both came to join me at the inn, to which, on leaving the church, I had returned with my son and the Cardinal. The commandant pressed us all to go and take some chocolate at his house; and having obliged us by his polite entreaties to accept his invitation, he conducted us to his dwelling, which was on the ground-floor of the royal pavilion. Having ordered one of his servants to bring him every thing that was necessary that he might prepare this breakfast for us with his own hands, he began to ask us numberless questions about the affairs of Rome, endeavouring to obtain the most minute information about every thing, more particularly with regard to the object of my husband's mission. Having, doubtless, gathered from our answers, that it was just possible that the Pope might come to stay in this fortress, he hastened to take us over the house, to prove

to us that if his Holiness should come to Gaëta, he would find a comfortable home there, at least as far as lodging was concerned. When we had got back to his rooms, three messengers came, one after the other, just as he was beginning to grate the chocolate; one announced to him that some ships bearing the Neapolitan flag had come in sight; another, that the signal announcing the transport of troops was visible; and the third, that the vessels were bringing one of the royal family. It was amusing to see the surprise of this good General Gross, who, since the evening before, had witnessed nothing but the most novel and inexplicable occurrences. Quite beside himself with wonderment, he exclaimed, 'But what does all this mean? what is this troop, which I have not sent for, coming to do here? and who can this royal personage be who is coming to Gaëta?' While these ideas and many others were passing through his head, an officer came to tell him that the king himself was landing at the port. At this last announcement, to leave the chocolate to whoever might choose to undertake it and to rush to the port to assist in the disembarkation of the king, was done in less time than I can describe it. It was about one o'clock in the afternoon when the king and his suite arrived at Gaëta. Scarcely had his Majesty set foot upon the quay before he perceived the commandant of the place, and eagerly asked him, 'General, where is the Pope?' The general replied, 'Sire, I think he will come'. At this moment the Chevalier Arnao and Cardinal Antonelli, who were there, advanced respectfully to the king, to give him a clear and suitable explanation. They said that the Pope was still *incognito*, and concealed at the inn of the Jardinets.

"It was thus, then, that the secret of the presence of his Holiness at Gaëta was made known to all; and I think that this was the last torment which the good general had to suffer that day—torments of which we had been the innocent occasion. However, to leave this excellent man and turn to the king, his Majesty charged Cardinal Antonelli and M. Arnao to bring the Pope secretly to the royal abode, while he, on his part, would go on foot, in order to attract the attention of the curious, and prevent them from pressing upon the Holy Father. Every thing was done according to his orders; and he arranged his progress so well, that in going to the tower, called the tower of Roland, he drew along with him all the crowd in the streets, so that when the Holy Father passed, no one was thinking of him. Leaving the inn with the two persons who had been sent by the king, and being seen but by a very few, he arrived at the palace in the dress of a simple ecclesiastic.

“In the mean time my husband came to tell me that the queen wished to see me; and notwithstanding the disorder of my toilet—thanks to my journey and the inn of the Jardinot—I presented myself to her Majesty. As I was beginning to make some excuses for my dress, she assured me that she did not think of it, and then began to inquire with much eagerness all the different particulars of the journey. While I was answering her as best I could, a gentleman of the court came to announce that the Pope was already ascending the stairs. The queen then rose, and, followed by her court, by us, and by all who were present, went quickly down stairs to the place which the Holy Father had reached. There, she threw herself at his feet. The queen and all present wept with joy and emotion, blessing and praising God for having at length vouchsafed to put an end to the tribulations of His Vicar. Thence we ascended to the upper story of the house, where was the King with his brothers, Don Luigi, Count d’Aguila, and Don Francesco di Paolo, Count de Trapani, as also the Prince Don Sebastian of Spain, brother-in-law of his Majesty. We were all filled with joy and admiration at witnessing this reception, which appeared to us the presage and commencement, as indeed it proved, of the most memorable acts of piety on the part of this royal couple, and which announced to us the termination of those griefs and anxieties of which the Sovereign Pontiff had till then tasted so deeply.

“Here begins the noble recital of those truly pious actions by which King Ferdinand of Naples did honour to the Holy Father during the seventeen months’ voluntary exile of the Pontiff. In those acts it would be hard to say which is most worthy of our admiration, the piety of the man compassionating the misfortunes of another man, and doing his utmost to give him comfort and consolation; the magnificence of the prince, who, regardless of all sacrifices, spared nothing to alleviate the pains of exile to another prince; or, lastly, the respect of the fervent Christian, who, seeing in the tribulations of the Pontiff only the insults offered to religion in the person of the Vicar of God, humbles himself in expiation of so many enormities committed by the enemies of Heaven, and prostrates himself for them at the feet of God. One may truly say, that in the heart of this Christian king the virtues of the Catholic prince and of the private individual shone forth with equal splendour.

“Having arrived at this point, I conclude my narrative, first, because the subsequent events are quite out of my range, and their recital would be beyond my power; and also because, having only purposed to describe to others the events seen by

myself, I have confined myself to speaking of the share which I had in the escape of our common Father. If the part which was assigned me, and which consisted in aiding the departure of the Holy Father with the utmost secrecy and security, has been well fulfilled, and if I have in any manner contributed to the successful issue of the enterprise, it is not for me to speak of it, because in truth I do not know it myself; what I do know, and what I wish to say, is, that whatever may have been the judgments and discourse of men, I am quite indifferent to them, leaving every thing to the judgment of God."

DIALOGUE BETWEEN JOHN BULL AND AN
OXFORD DIVINE.

John.—SIR, I am glad to meet with you, for I have long wanted to ask you a few plain questions. You, and some of your friends, have been making a deal of disturbance in my family of late, talking and writing just in the old Popery style. So now I want to know what it all means, and what you call yourself. Are you, in plain words, a Papist or a Protestant?

Oxford Divine.—A Papist, my dear Mr. Bull! Oh, surely not. Have I not always been saying, that the principles I was upholding were the only real safeguard against the encroachments of the Roman Church? Do me the justice to remember how many strong things I have committed myself to, in declaring against her present system and her claims upon this Church and realm. I have never, it is true, spoken in the broad vulgar way of Exeter Hall, nor have I gone the lengths of some of the episcopal charges; but if you would take the trouble to weigh my expressions, you would find them amount to as firm a stand against her as those who have spoken louder. All along I have implied that Romanists are very much in the wrong.

John.—Then I am to take you for a good Protestant, in of all the outcry against you?

Divine.—Let us distinguish, Mr. Bull. In a sense, one might certainly be called a Protestant, inasmuch as one does earnestly protest against the Bishop of Rome claiming jurisdiction over us here in England. Moreover, there are definitions of the Roman Church which do not appear to one quite reconcilable with some expressions in the writings of the early Fathers. But yet I am not fond of the name Pro-

testant, because my stand against Rome is taken quite upon another ground from that of Protestants in general, and one feels to have very little in common with them, either in first principles or in temper of mind.

John.—Why, sir, you are enough to puzzle a plain man with your distinctions. I cannot make out, now, whether you are Papist, or Protestant, or neither, or both.

Divine.—Excuse me, Mr. Bull, for saying, that is because you have never been at the trouble to ascertain my principles. If we must employ terms which one dislikes, then I am a Papist in so far forth as I hold apostolical succession, the authority of the Church universal, the division of the Christian world into patriarchates, the necessity of sacraments and church-membership, and several other things that might be named. I am a Protestant so far forth as I abjure all jurisdiction, ecclesiastical or spiritual, of the Pope in these dominions. I am neither, inasmuch as I hold the middle way, which our great divines have laid down as equally removed from Popery on the one hand and from Puritanism on the other. And I am both, because I am called both in turn (and I confess with apparent reason), according to the side from which people view me; I am a Protestant to the Romanists, and a Romanist to the Protestants.

John.—Worse and worse; why, this is splitting straws at a fine rate. Black is black, and white is white, I have always been taught. We must all be one thing or another. No use for me to pretend to be both John Bull and Mounseer.

Divine.—Ah, such a view, I fear, is the consequence of an over-practical turn of mind. You should beware of allowing yourself to be run away with by the first-sight aspect of things. We are discussing a matter of principle; and principles often lie beneath the surface, out of sight until we have turned the soil enough to get down to them. To a being constituted like man, probability is the very guide of life. What can one do, at best, but balance difficulties one against another; be on one's guard against allowing too much or too little to contending claims; neither disown, nor pledge oneself to, systems that may each contain mutilated portions of the truth, but test each as it rises and presents itself to one's mind; view all things, adhere irrevocably to none; endeavour to prevent one's own individual turn of character from influencing one's judgment; lean, though only up to a certain point, on the authority of great men, long gone, who have enriched us by the legacy of their writings; and after all such moral preparation as one can make, wait with patience until the great revolution of time makes that plainer to one which

is now indistinct, and that united and harmonious which is actually in discord. Have I succeeded in making these principles at all clear to you?

John.—Clear! as the deep lane up to my house on a foggy night. However, now I see that you are indeed neither Papist nor Protestant; *that* is clear enough. The one believes whatever he makes out from his Bible, the other believes whatever is told him by his Church. But you cannot be rightly said to believe any thing fixed; you must go shilly-shallying, as the fit takes you.

Divine.—What you now say is only another proof of that morbid craving for definiteness which appears to be one of the vices of the age. I hold that both the Romanist and the Protestant are chargeable with it, each in his way. As to the Protestant, he makes articles of faith out of points for which he has no surer warranty than his own variable judgment on Scripture. And with regard to the Romanist system, I confess it strikes one unfavourably from the hardness and definiteness of its outline. The Church of Rome is never at a loss. Every thing with her falls into its place; there is a page and a column for every conceivable statement. It is no sooner put into words, than it becomes stamped as either orthodox, or heterodox, or neutral. It is a dogma, or a consequence of one, or a pious opinion, or permissible, or rash, or simply erroneous, or heretical. Now we, in our statements, do not fly so straight, so like the lightning or the cannon-ball; we take the gentle curve, and allow for the oscillation (always within due limits, which we ought anxiously to ascertain,) of human opinion. In this we are surely borne out by the analogy of things. Observe the rainbow. When it is at the strongest, there are no unyielding lines of demarcation between colour and colour; but

“all rich hues together run,
In sweet confusion blending;”

and you are unable to trace the precise point at which red vanishes into orange-tawny, or violet loses itself in pea-green.

John.—Pshaw, sir! what sort of an argument do you call that? it would make mince-meat of my religion in no time. Whatever I am to believe, let it be all down in black and white. None of your “dissolving views” for me. It is a hard fight enough that a man has to carry on with his own bad heart, even when he knows justly what is right and what wrong, and what is true and what false; but if you make these the least bit uncertain, then it is all up; no one knows where he is, or what to be at; I might as well take down the hedges and fences about my farm, and then be surprised to

see the pigs among the mangold-wurzel, or the cow in the hen-roost.

Divine.—But observe, my good friend, that in all this you are using Romanist language.

John (angrily).—Come, come, sir; no joking upon such a subject as that, if you please.

Divine.—I never was more serious. You cannot have every thing so definite while you stop short of Rome. The Protestant sects dogmatise, each on its own ground, and to the length of their tether, but of course without a shadow of authority. Rome claims authority, and therefore dogmatises without hesitation or inconsistency. It is for this reason that one fears her. She catches, and will retain, all such impatient persons as cannot be satisfied with sitting in twilight and waiting for the dawn.

John.—Twilight, sir? if the only harm of Popery was that she gave me a broader light to walk by than you and your friends can pretend to offer, why I think the old quarrel that is between us might soon be patched up. I tell you I want all the light I can get. Twilight often makes a man take a horse's head for a hobgoblin, or a haystack for a house. If I am to have a Church at all, I don't see why I should put up with one that cannot say to me, "See here, John, this particular thing is the truth, and consequently that other particular thing is a falsehood; this here is a duty, and that there is a sin; you have been all along used to think so and so and to do so and so, but now and henceforward I tell you it is wrong; and if you have had this or that prejudice up to now, why, you have simply been calling white black." I say, whenever I really feel to want a guide (and I can tell you that at odd moments I *do*), I must have some such a one as this, and no inferior article.

Divine.—Such expressions, Mr. Bull, are very painful to me. They seem, one would think, to betoken some undisciplined state of mind, against which you really cannot be too seriously on your guard. If you would allow me to advise, I should recommend your employing some little bodily mortification, until the current of your thoughts had been toned down to a more befitting resignation, and you had learned to take up with the religious perplexity in which the more you think, the more you will find yourself, as doubtless somehow, if you only knew, best suited to you, or, in the long run, most wholesome; and to sit down satisfied, or, if not so, yet patient, under that due degree of uncertainty, which of course one would never—

John.—Why, man, I am 'most out of all patience with you. You will never do to be my teacher, I can tell you that. Whenever I take a serious turn in good earnest, (and bluff

as I seem, I mean to do it some day,) I shall look out for a religion that will work and wear. No half-lights, no guess-work, no perhaps-sos and perhaps-nots, in which you seem to deal wholesale. I can manufacture such things for myself! and 'tis my belief, that if you had had to rough it as I have in this work-day world, instead of living mewed up in your own four walls, you would have known how little they were worth "at best," as you say. Tell me, all this will be leading me to Rome? Well, unlikelier turns may have come about. I may not always be satisfied as I am; and then, if none of you learned men can satisfy me with your possibles and probables, why its odds but John may be jogging to the priest yet, before all's done. So wish you good day, for I am right tired of talking with you. (*Exit, with a flourish of his stick.*)

[*Manet Oxford Divine, in very painful contemplation of the undisciplined English mind.*]

Reviews.

THE CLOISTER LIFE OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES THE FIFTH.

The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth. By William Stirling, Author of "Annals of the Artists of Spain."
London, John W. Parker and Son.

A DOGGREL inscription engraved on one of Leoni's marble busts of Charles V. long in the possession of the lords of Mirabel, announced that there was no necessity to enumerate the deeds or titles of so great a prince: it was enough to mention his mere name; and so world-wide was his reputation, that every body would be at once enabled to supply the remainder.

"Carolo Quinto et è assai questo,
Perche si sa per tutto il mondo il resto."

And this, as we all know, was no empty boast. At the early age of sixteen, Charles had succeeded to the inheritance of more extensive dominions than any king of Europe since the days of Charlemagne had ever possessed. Even from a still earlier age his mind had been actively employed in the management of public affairs, and he had presided as a mere boy at the deliberations of his privy councillors in Flanders. Before the age of twenty, he was raised by the unanimous voice of the Electoral College to the imperial throne. After a

period of ten years' comparative inactivity, he shone forth at the age of thirty a most consummate politician, and for the next twenty years he may almost be said to have constantly directed the affairs of half of Europe. As he himself enumerated, in his address to the states of the Low Countries on the occasion of his abdication, he had, during the thirty years of his public career, visited, either as a friend or foe, Germany nine times, Spain six times, France four times, Italy seven times, the Low Countries ten times, and England and Africa twice, and he had made eleven voyages by sea. The voluntary retirement from public life, and surrender of all authority by so active and powerful a monarch as this, was an event to fill all Europe with astonishment; and the conjectures of Protestant historians, speculating as to the motives of so extraordinary a change, do little more than re-echo that astonishment.

Mr. Stirling, in the volume before us, has not brought forward any new facts bearing upon the solution of this problem; but he has given us every detail we could desire upon another question, scarcely less interesting, and to English readers scarcely less unknown, viz. how the mighty emperor carried his resolution into effect, and what he did with himself, how he spent his time, and what he thought and felt, when the deed was done, and he had once entered upon his monastic retreat. Hitherto the romance of Robertson has been our substitute for history upon this subject; but henceforth we trust that the mass of most interesting and apparently authentic information which is contained in these pages will be allowed to supersede the inventions of that graceful writer, but most worthless historian. Mr. Stirling's narrative is composed partly from the history of the order of St. Jerome by Joseph de Siguença, an author who had enjoyed the advantage of conversing with many who had been eye-witnesses of the facts he records, and partly from the unpublished manuscripts of one who had had uninterrupted access to all the royal archives of the kingdom of Spain. The result is a most pleasing biographical sketch; disfigured, indeed, by many grave blemishes—as how could it be otherwise, coming from the pen of a Protestant, and treating of monks and monasteries?—yet certainly less so than we had ventured to anticipate from one who could dedicate his work “to Richard Ford, in token of admiration of his writings.” The passages to which we allude might fitly find a place in any work of Mr. Ford's that we have seen, but they are altogether unworthy of the good taste and candour displayed by Mr. Stirling in some other parts of the present volume. “Picturesque drones,” as a

description of monks in general; "the dirty hands of a stupid friar," as expressing the intellectual capacity of any ecclesiastic chosen to be censor of the press; "magnificent to the Church, and mean to all the rest of the world—profligate, selfish, and bigoted, with some refinement of taste and much dignity of manner," presented as "a fair specimen of the great ecclesiastic of the sixteenth century;" "zeal and punctuality in the religious business of the cloth," set off by way of contrast and opposition against "the secular virtues of good temper and good sense;" a most unwarranted assumption, that the monastery of Yuste was "more remarkable for the natural beauty which smiled around its walls, than for any growth of spiritual grace within them;" an equally gratuitous assertion respecting the emperor's confessor, that he was "one of those monks who knew how to make ladders to place and favour of the ropes which girt their ascetic loins," and that on a particular occasion he was only using "the mitre-shunning cant of his cloth;"—these and other passages of a similar character are blots which, to a Catholic reader, sadly disfigure an otherwise charming volume. It was the same with Mr. Stirling's last work, "*The Annals of the Artists of Spain*;" a tone of flippant irreverence on every thing connected with the Catholic religion was a most serious drawback to the pleasure we should otherwise have felt in its perusal; and we are sorry to say that the same remark must be applied, though perhaps in a less degree, to the volume now before us. Indeed, considering how deeply his mind is imbued with the genuine "Protestant tradition" about us, we have been quite surprised to see how well he has succeeded in doing justice to so un-Protestant a subject as the cloister life of an ex-emperor. The following sketch of his narrative will give our readers a fair idea both of the style and contents of the work; the style is genial and pleasant, and the contents most interesting.

"It is not possible to determine," says our author, "the precise time at which the emperor formed his celebrated resolution to exchange the cares and honours of a throne for the religious seclusion of a cloister. It is certain, however, that this resolution was formed many years before it was carried into effect. With his empress, Isabella of Portugal, who died in 1538, Charles had agreed that so soon as state affairs and the ages of their children should permit, they were to retire for the remainder of their days—he into a convent of friars, and she into a nunnery. In 1542, he confided his design to the Duke of Gandia (afterwards St. Francis Borgia); and in 1546, it had been whispered at court, and was mentioned by Bernard Navagiero, the sharp-eared envoy of Venice, in a report to the doge."

The Duke of Gandia, who was a frequent companion of the emperor both in the camp and in the cabinet, was about ten years his junior, and had formed a similar resolution about the very same time. His wife, the Duchess Eleanor, formerly a very intimate friend and especial favourite of the Empress Isabella, had died in the spring of 1546; and five years afterwards her husband was no longer Duke of Gandia, viceroy of Catalonia and commander of the order of St. James, but a poor humble priest of the then infant Society of Jesus—"a hewer of wood and drawer of water" in the service of the kitchen of one of their smallest establishments. The emperor, his master, did not so quickly effect his emancipation from the toils of public life, neither, when he effected it, was it ever so complete and final. He had already, in 1554, ceded to his son Philip, the consort of our own Mary, the title of king of Naples; and in the autumn of the following year, in a public assembly of the states in Brussels, he solemnly abdicated in favour of the same son the domains of the house of Burgundy. In 1556 he executed a similar deed with reference to his Spanish kingdom; and lastly, he renounced his imperial crown also, and on the 28th of September in this year he landed on the Spanish coast, that being the country in which he had chosen his place of retirement. He loitered a little at Valladolid, and transacted several matters of business there, that so he might be enabled to enter his monastery free from all cares. On the 4th of November he was able to approach yet nearer to his coveted place of rest, and moved forwards by easy stages for seven or eight successive days to Xarandilla, a considerable village in the Vera of Plasencia, within a couple of hours' distance of the monastery of Yuste, which was not yet ready to receive him. An anecdote which is recorded of this royal progress will serve to shew the temper in which the ex-emperor was seeking his cloister-home. The cavalcade rested for a night in the old town of Medina del Campo, and the king was "lodged there in the house of one Rodrigo de Duinas, a rich money-broker. His host, imitating, perhaps unconsciously, the splendid Fuggers of Augsburg, had provided, amongst other luxuries for the emperor's use, a chafing-dish of gold, filled not with the usual vine-tendrils, but with the finest cinnamon of Ceylon. Charles was so displeased with this piece of ostentation, that he refused, very uncourteously and unreasonably as it seems, to allow the poor capitalist to kiss his hand, and on going away next day ordered his night's lodging to be paid for."

At length the buildings at the Jeromite monastery of Yuste were completed. It was not a very extensive addition that had been made to the original edifice; but the workmen had

progressed but slowly, and their delays had caused the emperor repeated disappointments.

“‘His majesty,’ wrote Quixada, ‘was in excellent health and spirits, which was more than could be said of the poor people whom he was dismissing.’ All of them received letters of recommendation; but it was a sad sight this breaking up of so old a company of retainers; and Quixada expressed a hope that the secretary of state would do what he could for those who went to Valladolid, not forgetting the others who remained in Estremadura. At three o’clock the emperor was placed in his litter, and the Count of Oropesa and his attendants mounted their horses; and crossing the leafless forest, in two hours the cavalcade halted at the gates of Yuste. There the prior was waiting to receive his imperial guest, who, on alighting, was placed in a chair and carried to the door of the church. At the threshold he was met by the whole brotherhood in procession, chanting the *Te Deum* to the music of the organ. The altar and the aisle were brilliantly lighted up with tapers, and decked with their richest frontals, hangings, and plate. Borne through the pomp to the steps of the high altar, Charles knelt down and returned thanks to God for the happy termination of his journey, and joined in the vesper service for the feast of St. Blas. This ended, the prior stepped forward with a congratulatory speech, in which, to the scandal of the courtiers, he addressed the emperor as ‘your paternity,’ until some friar, with more presence of mind and etiquette, whispered that the proper style was ‘majesty.’ The orator next presented his friars to their new brother, each kissing his hand and receiving his paternal embrace. During this ceremony the retiring retainers, who had all of them attended their master to his journey’s close, stood round, expressing their emotion by tears and lamentations, which were still heard in the evening round the gate. Attended by the Count of Oropesa, and conducted by the prior, the emperor then made an inspection of the convent, and finally retired to sup in his new home, and enjoy the repose which had so long been the dream of his life.”

It must not be supposed, however, as the language of too many historians (and, we may add, preachers too) may have led some of our readers to imagine, that the ex-emperor really proceeded to make himself a monk. It does not appear that he ever harboured such an idea for a moment. His was not a sacrifice like the Duke of Gandia’s, or Cardinal Odescalchi’s, or some of our old Saxon kings in the days of the heptarchy. He retired into a monastery, but it was with a retinue of about sixty attendants; with “a supply of cushions, eider-down quilts, and linen, luxuriously ample;” with silver basins and silver ewers, silver candlesticks and silver salt-cellars, and altogether about 13,000 ounces of plate in gold and silver; about thirty books, half-a-dozen valuable pictures, &c. &c.

an amount of property not altogether appropriate to a genuine inmate of the cloister. In one particular alone was the imperial establishment on a more monastic scale, viz. in the stable; here all that was provided for sixty persons was, "eight mules, a one-eyed horse, two litters, and a hand-chair."

"The house, or palace, as the friars loved to call it, although many a country notary was more splendidly lodged, was more deserving of the approbation accorded to it by the monarch, than of the abuse lavished upon it by his chamberlain. Backed by the massive south wall of the church, the building presented a simple front of two stories to the garden and the noontide sun. Each story contained four chambers, two on either side of a corridor, which traversed the structure from east to west, and led at either end into a broad porch, or covered gallery, supported by pillars and open to the air. Each room was furnished with an ample fireplace, in accordance with the Flemish wants and ways of the chilly invalid. The chambers which look upon the garden were bright and pleasant, but those on the north side were gloomy, and even dark, the light being admitted to them only by windows opening on the corridor, or on the external and deeply shadowed porches. Charles inhabited the upper rooms, and slept in that at the north-east corner, from which a door or window had been cut in a slanting direction into the church, through the chancel wall, and close to the high altar, of which it afforded a good view. The emperor's cabinet, in which he transacted business, was on the opposite side of the corridor, and looked upon the garden. From its window, his eye ranged over a cluster of rounded knolls, clad in walnut and chestnut, in which the mountain dies gently away into the broad bosom of the Vera. Not a building was in sight, but a summer-house peering above the mulberry tops at the lower end of the garden, and a hermitage of Our Lady of Solitude about a mile distant, hung upon a rocky height, which rose like an isle out of the sea of forest. Immediately below the windows the garden sloped gently to the Vera, shaded here and there with the massive foliage of the fig or the feathery boughs of the almond, and breathing perfume from tall orange-trees, cuttings of which some of the friars, themselves transplanted, in after days vainly strove to keep alive at the bleak Escorial. The garden was easily reached from the western porch or gallery by an inclined path, which had been constructed to save the gouty monarch the pain and fatigue of going up and down stairs. This porch, which was much more spacious than the eastern, was his favourite seat when filled with the warmth of the declining day. Commanding the same view as the cabinet, it looked also upon a small parterre with a fountain in the centre, and a short cypress-alley leading to the principal gate of the garden. Beyond this gate and wall was the luxuriant forest; a wide space in front of the convent being covered by the shade of a magnificent walnut-tree, even then known as the walnut-tree of Yuste, a Nestor of the woods, which has seen the hermit's cell rise into a royal con-

vent, and sink into a ruin, and has survived the Spanish order of Jerome and the Austrian dynasty of Spain.

"The emperor's attendants were lodged in apartments built for them near the new cloister, and in the lower rooms of that cloister; and the hostel of the convent was given up to the physician, the bakers, and the brewers. The remainder of the household were disposed of in the village of Quacos. The emperor's private rooms being surrounded on three sides by the garden of the convent, that was resigned to his exclusive possession, and put under the care of his own gardeners. The ground near the windows was planted with flowers, under the citron-trees; and further off, between the shaded paths which led to the summer-house, vegetables were cultivated for his table, which was likewise supplied with milk from a couple of cows which pastured in the forest. The Jeromites removed their pot-herbs to a piece of ground to the eastward, behind some tall elms and the wall of the imperial domain. The entrances to the palace and its dependencies were quite distinct from those which led to the monastery; and all internal communications between the region of the friars and the settlement of the Flemings were carefully closed up or cut off."

We have seen that the emperor was no monk, as far as the vow of poverty was concerned. The following extracts seem to shew, that not only was he no ascetic, but that he did not even observe the rules of ordinary moderation and temperance as carefully as his physicians, both spiritual and corporal, would have had him to do.

"In this matter of eating, as in many other habits, the emperor was himself a true Fleming. His early tendency to gout was increased by his indulgences at table, which generally far exceeded his feeble powers of digestion. Roger Ascham, standing 'hard by the imperial table at the feast of golden fleece,' watched with wonder the emperor's progress through 'sod beef, roast mutton, baked hare,' after which 'he fed well of a capon,' drinking also, says the fellow of St. John's, 'the best that ever I saw;' 'he had his head in the glass five times as long as any of them, and never drank less than a good quart at once of Rhenish wine.' Eating was now the only physical gratification which he could still enjoy, or was unable to resist. He continued, therefore, to dine to the last upon the rich dishes against which his ancient and trusty confessor, Cardinal Loaysa, had protested a quarter of a century before. The supply of his table was a main subject of the correspondence between the mayordomo and the secretary of state. The weekly courier from Valladolid to Lisbon was ordered to change his route, that he might bring every Thursday a provision of eels and other rich fish for Friday. There was a constant demand for anchovies, tunny, and other potted fish, and sometimes a complaint that the trouts of the country were too small; the olives, on the other hand, were too large, and the em-

peror wished instead for olives of Perejon. One day the secretary of state was asked for some partridges from Gama, a place from whence the emperor remembers that the Count of Osorno once sent him into Flanders some of the best partridges in the world. Another day sausages were wanted, 'of the kind Queen Juana, now in glory, used to pride herself in making, in the Flemish fashion, at Tordesillas,' and for the receipt for which the secretary is referred to the Marquess of Denia. Both orders were punctually executed. The sausages, although sent to a land supreme in that manufacture, gave great satisfaction. Of the partridges, the emperor said that they used to be better, ordering, however, the remainder to be pickled. The emperor's weakness being generally known, or soon discovered, dainties of all kinds were sent to him as presents. Mutton, pork, and game, were the provisions most easily obtained at Xarandilla; but they were dear. The bread was indifferent, and nothing was good and abundant but chestnuts, the staple food of the people. But in a very few days the castle larder wanted for nothing. One day the Count of Oropesa sent an offering of game; another day a pair of fat calves arrived from the Archbishop of Zaragoza; the Archbishop of Toledo and the Duchess of Frias were constant and magnificent in their gifts of venison, fruit, and preserves; and supplies of all kinds came at regular intervals from Seville and from Portugal. Luis Quixada, who knew the emperor's habits and constitution well, beheld with dismay these long trains of mules, laden, as it were, with gout and bile. He never acknowledged the receipt of the good things from Valladolid without adding some dismal forebodings of consequent mischief; and along with an order, he sometimes conveyed a hint that it would be much better if no means were found of executing it. If the emperor made a hearty meal without being the worse for it, the mayordomo noted the fact with exultation; and he remarked with complacency his majesty's fondness for plovers, which he considered harmless. But his office of purveyor was commonly exercised under protest; and he interposed between his master and an eel-pie, as, in other days, he would have thrown himself between the imperial person and the point of a Moorish lance."

He seems to have relieved his mind, however, by expressing his feelings on the subject pretty freely both to his companions and to his royal master himself. On one occasion, when Charles, in spite of all remonstrances, insisted on eating some raw oysters, as he was slowly recovering from an attack of the gout, Quixada despairingly remarked to the secretary of state, "Surely kings imagine that their stomachs are not made like other men's." And on another occasion, when the emperor had committed an excess upon sausages and olives, sent to him by the wife of Quixada himself, and afterwards complained of a sore throat, which made it difficult for him

to swallow, the mayordomo sententiously observed, "Shut your mouth, and the gout will get well."

But though the emperor, if we may trust Mr. Stirling, never got the better of his Flemish appetite, yet we should be very unjust to his memory if we were to picture him to ourselves as leading a life of idleness and sensual indulgence in his monastic retreat. On the contrary, his time was spent in giving really valuable advice on most important matters of state to his son and other members of his family still engaged in the difficult task of governing, in devotional exercises, public or private, and in simple innocent recreations; and the glimpses which we have of his relations with the friars, with his own household and his neighbours, are of the most pleasing character. His companions, indeed, complained loudly of the lonely and doleful existence which they led in this secluded spot. "If his majesty came here in search of solitude," writes one of them, "by my faith, he has found it!" "This is the most wretched and solitary life I have ever known," says another, "and quite insupportable to those who are not content to leave their lands and the world, which I, for one, am not content to do." But though so insupportable to others, it is certain that Charles himself delighted in it. There is not one word of truth in the assertions so often made by "historians who have found it easier to invent than to investigate," that the emperor's life at Yuste was a long repentance for his resignation of power; on the contrary, so far from regretting his retirement, he refused to entertain several proposals that he should quit it; and when a report had got abroad of a contrary nature, the chamberlain lost no time in assuring the secretary of state that it was altogether unfounded. "His majesty," he wrote, "is the most contented man in the world, and the quietest, and the least desirous of moving in any direction whatsoever, as he tells us himself." He was not, however, altogether free from petty annoyances in the midst of his retirement; for his neighbours do not seem to have stood more in awe of majesty "divested of its externals," than they did of any other country gentleman having game that could be poached and gardens that could be plundered.

"The villagers of Quacos were the unruly Protestants who troubled his reign in the Vera. Although these rustics shared amongst them the greater part of the hundred ducats which he dispensed every month in charity, they teased him by constant acts of petty aggression, by pounding his cows, poaching his fish-ponds, and stealing his fruit. One fellow, having sold the crop on a cherry-tree to the emperor's purveyor at double its value, and for ready money, when he found

that it was left ungathered, resold it to a fresh purchaser, who of course left nothing but bare boughs behind him.

“Weary of this persecution, Charles at last sent for Don Juan de Viga, president of Castille, who arrived on the 25th of August at Luis Quixada’s house, in the guilty village. Next morning he had an interview of an hour and a half with the emperor; and spent the day following in concerting measures with the licentiate Murga, the rural judge, to whom he administered a sharp rebuke, which that functionary in his turn visited upon the unruly rustics. The president returned to Valladolid on the 28th; and a few days afterwards several culprits were apprehended. But whilst Castilian justice was taking its usual deliberate course, some of them who had relatives amongst the Jeromites of Yuste, by the influence of their friends at court, wrought upon the emperor’s good nature so far that he himself begged that the sentence might be light.”

And we find that even this sentence was afterwards remitted, or at least turned to good account; for it was directed in his will that the amount of fines recovered, or that should be recovered, by his attorney from the rioters and poachers of Quacos, should be paid into the hands of a person named by the executors, for distribution amongst the poor of the village. We are not surprised, then, to hear that he was as popular in the cloister as he had been in the world. When the prior of the convent of Yuste died, the friars petitioned the emperor to request the new general of the order (who was one of his preachers) to wave his privilege and permit them to choose their new prior themselves. With admirable taste, and to the great delight of his household, he at once, and rather drily, refused to meddle in the matter, or to interfere with the rules of their order.

“There was still in his conduct and bearing that indescribable charm which wins the favour of the multitude. A little book of no literary value, but frequently printed both in French and Flemish, sufficiently indicates in its title the qualities which coloured the popular view of his character: *The Life and Actions, heroic and pleasant, of the invincible Emperor Charles the Fifth*, was long a favourite cheap-book in the Low Countries. It relates how he defeated Solyman the Magnificent, and how he permitted a Walloon boor to obtain judgment against him for the value of a sheep, killed by the wheels of his coach; how he rode down the Moorish horsemen at Tunis, and how he jested, like any private sportsman, with the woodmen of Soigne. A similar reputation for affability and good humour, heightened by the added quality of sanctity, he left behind him in the sylvan monastery of Estremadura. Doomed by royal etiquette to eat alone, he would break the rule in favour of the Jeromites of Yuste; and he sometimes dined with them in their refectory, as he had dined in former days with the Benedictines of

Montserrat. At the latter convent, a rough Aragonese prior ventured to tell him that he had polluted their sober board by eating flesh meat there; a monkish pleasantry which the imperial guest took in perfectly good part."

But it is in his attention to his religious observances during these last years of his life that every Catholic reader naturally feels the deepest interest; and on this subject we have most full and satisfactory information. If we may believe the royal recluse himself in a declaration which he made to St. Francis Borgia, never since he was one-and-twenty years old had he failed to set apart some portion of each day for mental prayer. There are periods in his life when we should not have thought this possible. Some of his public acts seem scarcely reconcilable with such a practice; and yet it is clear that religion and religious habits were far from being new to him when he entered his long-desired haven of refuge. He would not have been so firm a friend of the Duke of Gandia, and pointed him out with admiration as the model and miracle of princes, had religion been to him what it is to too many whose names have filled the world with their glory.

"When the empress died, he retired to indulge his grief in the cloisters of La Sista, near Toledo. After his return from one of his African campaigns, he paid a visit to the noble convent of Mejorado, near Olmedo, and spent two days in familiar converse with Jeromites, sharing their refectory fare, and walking for hours in their garden-alleys of venerable cypress. When he held his court at Bruxelles he was often a guest at the convent of Grænendael; and the monks commemorated his condescension, as well as his skill as a marksman, by placing his statue in bronze on the banks of their fishpond, at a point where he had brought down a heron from an amazing height. At Alcala, when attending service in the University church, he would not occupy the throne prepared for him, but insisted on sitting with the canons, saying that he could never be better placed than among reverend and learned divines.

"The emperor's punctual attendance, whenever his health permitted, on religious rites in church, and his fondness for finding occasions for extraordinary functions there, won him golden opinions among the friars. When he had completed a year of residence, some good-humoured bantering passed between him and the master of the novices, about its being now time for him to make his profession; and he afterwards declared, as the friars averred, that he was prevented from taking the vows, and becoming one of themselves, only by the state of his health. St. Blas's day, 1558, the anniversary of his arrival, was held as a festival, and celebrated by Masses, the *Te Deum*, a procession, and a sermon by Villalva. In the afternoon, the emperor provided a sumptuous repast for the whole convent out of doors, it being the custom of the fraternity to mark any accession

to their numbers in this way. The country people of the Vera sent a quantity of partridges and kids to aid the feast, which was also enlivened by the presence of many of the Flemish retainers, male and female, from the village of Quacos. The prior provided a more permanent memorial of the day, by opening a new book for the names of brethren admitted to the convent, on the first leaf of which the emperor inscribed his name, an autograph which was the pride of the archives until they were destroyed by the dragoons of Buonaparte.

“On the first Sunday after he came to the convent, as he went to Mass, he observed the friar who was sprinkling the holy water hesitate as he approached to be aspersed. Taking the hyssop therefore from his hand, he bestowed a plentiful shower upon his own face and clothes, saying, as he returned the instrument, ‘This, father, is the way you must do it next time.’ Another friar, offering the pyx containing the holy wafer to his lips* in a similar diffident manner, he took it into his hands, and not only kissed it fervently, but applied it to his forehead and eyes with true oriental reverence. Although provided with an indulgence for eating before communion, he never availed himself of it but when suffering from extreme debility; and he always heard two Masses on the days when he partook of the solemn rite. On Ash Wednesday he required his entire household, down to the meanest scullion, to communicate; and on these occasions he would stand on the highest step of the altar to observe if the muster was complete. He was likewise particular in causing the Flemings to be assembled for confession on the stated days when their countryman, the Flemish chaplain, came over from Xarandilla. The emperor himself usually heard Mass from the window of his bed-chamber, which looked into the church; but at compline he went up into the choir with the fathers, and prayed in a devout and audible voice in his tribune. During the season of Lent, which came round twice during his residence at Yuste, he regularly appeared on Fridays in his place in the choir, and, at the end of the appointed prayers, extinguishing the taper which he, like the rest, held in his hand, he flogged himself with such sincerity of purpose that the scourge was stained with blood. Some of these scourges were found after his death, in his chamber, stained with blood, and became precious heir-looms in the house of Austria, and honoured relics at the Escorial. On Good Friday he went forth at the head of his household to adore the Holy Cross; and although he was so infirm that he was almost carried by the men on whom he leaned, he insisted on prostrating himself three times upon the ground in the proper manner before he approached the blessed symbol with his lips. The feast of S. Matthias he always celebrated with peculiar devotion, as a day of great things in his life, being the day of his birth, his coronation, the victories

* This is probably a mistake for the *pax*, used in some Catholic countries for the kiss of peace. Instead of this kiss being given *sinistris genis sibi invicem appropinquantibus*, as ordered in the rubrics of the Roman Missal, it is in some places given by all kissing a small tablet, called a *pax*, which is carried to each in succession.

of Bicocca and Pavia, and the birth of his son Don John of Austria. On this festival, therefore, he appeared at Mass in a dress of ceremony, and wearing the collar of the golden fleece, and at the offertory expressed his gratitude by a large oblation. The church was thronged with strangers, and the crowd who could not gain admittance was so great, that while one sermon proceeded within, another was pronounced outside beneath the shadow of the great walnut-tree of Yuste. The emperor lived on terms of friendly familiarity with the friars, of which they were very proud, and his household somewhat ashamed. He always insisted on his confessor being seated in his presence, and would never listen to the entreaties of the modest divine, that he should at least be allowed to stand when the chamberlain or any one else came into the room. 'Have no care of this matter, Fray Juan,' he would say, 'since you are my father in confession, and I am equally pleased by your sitting in my presence, and by your blushing when caught in the act.' He knew all the friars by name and by sight, and frequently conversed with them, as well as with the prior. When the visitors of the order paid their triennial visit of inspection to Yuste, they represented to him with all respect, that his majesty himself was the only inmate of the convent with whom they had any fault to find; and they entreated him to discontinue the benefactions which he was in the habit of bestowing on the fraternity, and which it was against the rule for Jeromites to receive. One of his favourites was the lay brother Alonso Mudarra, who, after having filled offices of trust in the state, was now working out his own salvation as cook to the convent. This worthy had an only daughter, who did not share her father's contempt for mundane things. When she came with her husband to visit him at Yuste, emerging from among the pots in his dirtiest apron, he thus addressed her: 'Daughter, behold my gala apparel; obedience is now my pleasure and my pride; for you, with your silks and vanities, I entertain a profound pity!' So saying, he returned to his cooking, and would never see her again. While the emperor's servants were surprised by his familiarity with the stupid friars, the friars marvelled at his forbearance with his careless servants. They noted his patience with Adrian, the cook, although it was notorious that he left the cinnamon, which his master loved, out of the dishes whereof it was the proper seasoning; and how mildly he admonished Pelago the baker, who, getting drunk and neglecting his oven, sent up burnt bread, which must have sorely tried the toothless gums of the emperor. Nevertheless, the old military habits of the recluse had not entirely forsaken him; and there were occasions in which he shewed himself something of a martinet in enforcing the discipline of his household and of the convent. Observing in his walks, or from his window, that a certain basket daily went and came between his garden and the garden of the friars, he sent for Moron, minister of the horticultural department, and caused him to institute a search, of which the result was, the harmless discovery that the cepivorous Flemings were in the habit of bartering egg-plants with the friars

for double rations of onions. He had been disturbed by suspicious gatherings of young women, who stood gossiping at the convent-gate, under pretence of receiving alms. At Yuste the spirit of misogyny was less stern than it had formerly been at Mejorada, where the prior once assured Queen Mary of Castile, that if she opened, as she proposed, a door from her palace into the conventual choir, he and his monks would fly from their polluted abode. Charles, however, who had been wont in old times to shut his window if he saw a pretty woman in the street, determined that neither he himself nor his hosts should be led into temptation. Complaint to the superior not sufficiently suppressing the evil, it was repeated to the visitors when they came their rounds. An order was then issued that the conventual dole, instead of being divided at the door, should be sent round in certain portions to the villages of the Vera, for distribution on the spot. And although it was well known that St. Jerome had sometimes miraculously let loose the lion, which always lies at his feet in his pictures, against the women who ventured themselves within his cloisters, it was thought prudent to adopt more sure and secular means for their exclusion. The crier, therefore, went down the straggling street of Quacos, making the ungallant proclamation, that any woman who should be found nearer to the convent of Yuste than a certain oratory, about two gunshots from the gate, was to be punished with a hundred lashes."

Elsewhere Mr. Stirling gives us the true account of that singular religious function which Charles caused to be celebrated for the good of his soul the day before he was seized with the fever that proved fatal to him. Robertson's highly wrought account of the matter he justly describes as being "in every thing but style, very absurd;" in fact, it is utterly false. Robertson makes Charles follow the funeral procession he had ordered for himself wrapt in his own shroud; he pretends that he lay in his coffin as though he were really dead, and that it was not until all the assistants had retired and the doors of the chapel were shut, that he rose from the coffin and withdrew to his apartment; moreover, that the fatiguing length of the ceremony, or the impression which this vivid image of death had left upon his mind, was the cause of the fever which attacked him on the next day. The following is Siguença's account of the matter, adopted by Mr. Stirling; and as his book was published with the authority of his name, while men were still alive who could have contradicted a misstatement, there seems no sufficient reason for questioning his accuracy.

"Whenever, during his stay at Yuste, any of his friends of the degree of princes or knights of the fleece had died, he had ever been punctual in doing honour to their memory, by causing their obsequies

to be performed by the friars ; and these lugubrious services may be said to have formed the festivals of the gloomy life of the cloister. The daily masses said for his own soul were always accompanied by others for the souls of his father, mother, and wife. But now he ordered further solemnities of the funeral kind to be performed in behalf of these relations, each on a different day, and attended them himself, preceded by a page bearing a taper, and joining in the chant in a very devout and audible manner out of a tattered prayer-book. These rites ended, he asked his confessor whether he might not now perform his own funeral, and so do for himself what would soon have to be done for him by others. Regla replied, that his majesty, please God, might live many years, and that when his time came these services would be gratefully rendered, without his taking any thought about the matter. 'But,' persisted Charles, 'would it not be good for my soul?' The monk said that certainly it would : pious works done during life being far more efficacious than when postponed till after death. Preparations were therefore at once set on foot ; a catafalque, which had served before on similar occasions, was erected ; and on the following day, the 30th of August, as the monkish historian relates, this celebrated service was actually performed. The high altar, the catafalque, and the whole church, shone with a blaze of wax lights ; the friars were all in their places at the altars and in the choir, and the household of the emperor attended in deep mourning. 'The pious monarch himself was there, attired in sable weeds, and bearing a taper, to see himself interred, and to celebrate his own obsequies.' While the solemn mass for the dead was sung, he came forward and gave his taper into the hands of the officiating priest, in token of his desire to yield his soul into the hands of his Maker.

"Many years before, self-interment had been practised by a bishop of Liege—Cardinal Erard de la Marck, Charles's ambassador to the diet during his election to the imperial throne—an example which may perhaps have led to the ceremonies at Yuste. For several years before his death, in 1528, did this prelate annually rehearse his obsequies and follow his coffin to the stately tomb which he had reared in the cathedral at Liege. The funeral-rites ended, the emperor dined in his western alcove. He ate little, but he remained for a great part of the afternoon sitting in the open air, and basking in the sun, which, as it descended to the horizon, beat strongly upon the white walls. Feeling a violent pain in his head, he returned to his chamber and lay down. Mathisio, whom he had sent in the morning to Xarandilla to attend the Count of Oropesa in his illness, found him, when he returned, still suffering considerably, and attributed the pain to his having remained too long in the hot sunshine. Next morning he was somewhat better, and was able to get up and go to mass, but still felt oppressed, and complained much of thirst. He told his confessor, however, that the funeral service of the day before had done him good. The sunshine again tempted him into his open gallery. As he sat there, he sent for a portrait of the empress, and

hung for some time, lost in thought, over the gentle face, which, with its blue eyes, auburn hair, and pensive beauty, somewhat resembled the noble countenance of that other Isabella, the great Queen of Castille. He next called for a picture of our Lord praying in the garden, and then for a sketch of the last judgment, by Titian. Having looked his last upon the image of the wife of his youth, it seemed as if he were now bidding farewell, in the contemplation of those other favourite pictures, to the noble art which he had loved with a love which cares, and years, and sickness could not quench, and that will ever be remembered with his better fame."

It does not seem to occur to Mr. Stirling, that the *subjects* of these paintings had anything to do with the Emperor's choice of them at this moment. Being ignorant of the religious use which Catholics make of sacred pictures, he adopts this heathenish interpretation of a Christian act. Does Mr. Stirling really believe that if a *Venus* by Titian had been in the Emperor's collection at Yuste, instead of a sketch of the Last Judgment by the same master, he would have called for it just the same?

Many very minute particulars of his last illness have been preserved by eye-witnesses, or by persons who had conversed with them, and are very faithfully recorded by Mr. Stirling in the form of a journal of each of the twenty days that yet remained of the emperor's life. There are many most touching and interesting passages in this portion of the book. We can only find room for the closing scene of all. Charles had received the holy Eucharist, and "confessed with great devoutness," on September 10th, and on the 19th he received the sacrament of extreme unction.

"This involved the reading of the seven penitential psalms, a litany, and several passages of Scripture; through all of which the emperor made the proper responses in an audible voice. After the service was over, he appeared rather revived than exhausted by it.

"*September 20th.*—During the whole of the past night he had been attended by his confessor, and by the preacher Villalva, who frequently read aloud, at his request, passages from Scripture, usually from the Psalms. The psalm which he liked best was that beginning *Domine, refugium factus est nobis*. Soon after daybreak he signified his wish to be left alone with his chamberlain. When the door was shut upon the retiring clergy, he said, 'Luis Quixada, I feel that I am sinking little by little, for which I thank God, since it is his will. Tell the king, my son, that I beg he will settle with my servants who have attended me to my death; that he will find some employment for William Van Male; and that he will forbid the friars of this convent to receive guests in the house.' The emperor afterwards asked for the Eucharist. Fray Juan de Regla re-

minded him, that after having received extreme unction, that sacrament was no longer necessary. 'It may not be necessary,' said the dying man, 'but it is good company on so long a journey.*' About seven in the morning, therefore, the consecrated wafer was brought from the high altar of the church, followed by the friars in solemn procession. The patient received It, with great devoutness, from the hands of his confessor; but he had great difficulty in swallowing the sacred morsel, and afterwards opened his mouth and made Quixada see if It had all gone down. In spite of his extreme weakness, he followed all the responses as usual, and repeated with much fervour the whole verse, '*In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum: redemisti nos, Domine, Deus veritatis;*' and he afterwards remained kneeling in his bed for some time, and uttering most pious and apposite ejaculations in praise of the Blessed Sacrament. He was soon, however, seized by violent vomitings, and during the greater part of the day lay motionless, with closed eyes, but not unconscious of what went on around him. About noon the archbishop arrived, and was immediately admitted to the sick room, where he was recognised by the patient, who addressed a few words to him, and told him to go and repose himself. The Count of Oropesa and his brother, Don Francisco, also came, although they were themselves hardly recovered from their illness. In the afternoon it was supposed that the emperor's strength was ebbing fast, and all his friends assembled at the palace. They found him perfectly calm and collected, for which he expressed great thankfulness, it having long been his dread that he might die out of his mind. A few words of consolation touching forgiveness of sin were at intervals addressed to him by the archbishop. Sad and swarthy of visage, Carranza had also a hoarse, disagreeable voice. Hearing it on one of these occasions, the emperor gave a sign of impatience so unmistakeable, that Quixada thought it right to interpose, and whisper, 'Hush, my lord, you are disturbing his majesty.' The primate took the hint and was silent. Towards eight o'clock in the evening Charles asked if the blest tapers were ready; and he was evidently sinking rapidly. The physicians acknowledged that the case was past their skill, and that all hope was over. Cornelio retired; Mathisio remained by the bed-side, occasionally feeling the patient's pulse, and whispering to the group of anxious spectators, 'His majesty has but two hours to live—but one hour—but half an hour.' Charles meanwhile lay in a stupor, seemingly unconscious, but now and then mumbling a prayer and turning his eyes to heaven. At length he raised himself and called for 'William.' Van Male was instantly at his side, and understood that he wished to be turned in bed, during which operation the emperor leaned upon him heavily, and uttered a groan of agony. The physician now looked towards the door, and said to the archbishop, who was

* Here again the Protestant historian has clearly fallen into some involuntary error, which, in the absence of the original, we are unable to correct with certainty.

standing in its shadow, '*Domine, jam moritur*;' 'My lord, he is now dying.' The primate came forward with the chaplain Villalva, to whom he made a sign to speak. It was now nearly two o'clock in the morning of the 21st of September, Saint Matthew's day. Addressing the dying man, the favourite preacher told him how blessed a privilege he enjoyed in having been born on the feast of St. Matthias, the apostle who had been chosen by lot to complete the number of the twelve, and in being about to die on the feast of St. Matthew, who for Christ's sake had forsaken wealth, as his majesty had forsaken imperial power. For some time the preacher held forth in this strain. At last the emperor interposed, saying, 'The time is come: bring me the candles and the crucifix.' These were cherished relics which he had long kept in reserve for this supreme hour. The one was a taper from Our Lady's shrine at Monserrat, the other a crucifix of beautiful workmanship, which had been taken from the dead hand of his wife at Toledo, and which afterwards comforted the last moments of his son at the Escorial. He received them eagerly from the archbishop, and taking one in each hand, for some moments he silently contemplated the figure of the Saviour, and then clasped it to his bosom. Those who stood nearest to the bed now heard him say quickly, as if replying to a call, 'Ya, voy Senor,'—'Now, Lord, I go.' As his strength failed, his fingers relaxed their hold of the crucifix, which the primate therefore took, and held it up before him. A few moments of death-wrestle between soul and body followed; after which his eyes fixed on the cross, and with a voice loud enough to be heard outside the room, he cried, 'Ay, Jesus!' and expired."

SHORT NOTICES.

It was recommended in a recent number of *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, that educated persons, having been brought up Protestants, but lately received into the Catholic Church, should study Catholic faith and theology in some clear and trustworthy compendium. We heartily coincide with this recommendation, and think a better book could scarcely be found for the purpose than one which has lately appeared in France, *Etude de la Doctrine Catholique dans le Concile de Trente*, par le R. P. Nampon, S.J. (Paris: Poussielgue-Rusand). It is made up of a number of discourses originally delivered in Geneva during the jubilee of 1851 upon the following subjects: "The authority of the Church and of its Head; of General Councils, especially of Trent; of holy Scripture, and of tradition." Having laid these foundations, the author proceeds to treat of the Holy Trinity; of original sin; of the divinity of our Lord; of justification; of the sacraments (each in its turn); of purgatory; of indulgences; of invocation of the saints; of relics and images; and finally, of the laws of the Church. As a specimen of his mode of handling his subject, we will take a single discourse, that on purgatory. He first shews the reasonableness and even necessity of such a doctrine to complete the circle of the Christian faith; then the

evidence that can be adduced from holy Scripture and tradition; then the practical lessons to be drawn from it; then the errors of heretics in connexion with it; and lastly, the decrees of the Council of Trent. The author writes with great clearness and precision; and the book will be found extremely useful to those converts who are anxious thoroughly to eradicate all the prejudices of their former ignorance.

The World and the Cloister, by Agnes M. Stewart (Richardson and Son), is decidedly the most successful production that we have yet seen from Miss Stewart's pen. We are sorry that she should have selected for her principal heroine of the cloister one who had entered it after having been "crossed in love," because this is the Protestant idea concerning all nuns; it is the only motive for retiring from the world that Protestants seem capable of appreciating; and we think it was a decided mistake, therefore, in a work of fiction written by a Catholic, so to form the plot of the tale as to confirm this false and vulgar idea. But with the exception of this error in the plan, we have read the several chapters of this book with very great interest, and can highly recommend it. Some of the letters from religious introduced into the narrative read more like fact than fiction, and we suspect are thoroughly genuine. Indeed, nearly all the details of cloister-life described in these pages have an air of reality and authenticity about them rarely to be met with in books of this kind. The histories of the convents of New Hall and of York are extremely interesting, more especially of the latter (pp. 155-158); and if Miss S. could obtain the necessary materials for a similar history of all the other religious houses in England, she would make a valuable contribution to English Catholic literature. We are glad, for the sake of our young friends and of the authoress herself, to see a second edition also of her *Stories of the Seven Virtues* (London, Dolman).

America discovered, a Poem, by J. V. Huntington (New York, Dunigan). This poem was delivered before the Association of Alumni of the University of New York at their anniversary celebration, June 29, 1852, and is now published at their request. We presume the poet is young, and therefore we would not discourage the efforts of his Muse. We would recommend, however, a less ambitious flight. Milton cannot be successfully imitated in a day; and even if he could, a Catholic poet would do well to choose a better and more Christian model. At the same time, there are some pleasing verses in this poem, and some still more pleasing thoughts.

We rejoice to see a new edition of Father Faber's *Catholic Hymns* (London, Richardson), and that their price is reduced to two-fifths of what it was, whilst at the same time the matter has been nearly doubled. We are not sure that we consider all the additions improvements, but there is nothing on which there is such diversity of tastes as religious poetry; and it is certain that nothing but good can result from an increased circulation of this justly popular volume.

We wish we could put into the hands of every educated and thoughtful Protestant Mr. Manning's *Four Lectures on the Grounds of Faith* (London, Burns and Lambert). As a piece of closely reasoned argument, it is equal to any thing on the subject that we ever read, whilst, as a composition, it is very superior to the author's usual style. It is nowhere heavy and laboured, with involved and inverted sentences, such as we remember in Mr. Manning's former writings, but it reads smoothly and easily, almost like a lecture of Father Newman's. The first lecture establishes the position that revealed truth must be both definite and certain; the second goes on to examine the founda-

tion upon which this certainty descends to us, which is of course the authority of the Church; and first, the Church is considered merely as a human witness, and it is shewn that even in this light she is at least the most trustworthy witness than can be found; the further fact is then insisted upon, that the Church is not a mere human witness, but a divine witness, preserved from all possibility of error and always teaching the truth through the perpetual indwelling presence of the Holy Spirit. The fourth and last lecture reverses the process that has been gone through in the preceding ones, and instead of building up the truth positively and directly, it shews the destructive consequences of admitting its contradictory; and in this lecture there is a short but masterly sketch of the religious history of Protestant England since the Reformation. On the whole, we anticipate a most extensive circulation for these valuable lectures, both among Catholics and Protestants.

We have received a circular of Mr. White's *Universal Circulating Library* (26 Great Russell Street, British Museum), which has just been established with the approbation of his Eminence Cardinal Wiseman. It is, we believe, the first time that an attempt has been made to establish a library of this kind for the especial advantage of Catholics; and now that the Catholic press in England, Scotland, Ireland, and America—to say nothing of foreign languages—is constantly sending out new publications, there can be no doubt that such an institution will be most useful. The library is of course not exclusively Catholic; but it is intended to embrace, in addition to the usual contents of an ordinary circulating library of the better class, all new works by Catholic authors or of interest to Catholic readers, which, we need hardly say, will be sought for in vain in Protestant libraries of more than double the size. We think the plan has only to be generally known and to be carried on with spirit, in order to ensure success, which we most heartily wish it.

Our musical readers will not regret that the seventh part of *The Choir* (Burns and Lambert) contains not less than seven pieces by Mr. Richardson of Liverpool, constituting the entire contents, with the exception of two good compositions by Casali and Soriano. Mr. Richardson's compositions fully bear out the favourable opinion we have already expressed of his works. To a perfect facility in conducting his parts, he unites an ease and delicacy in modulation, and (though with a slight tendency to fall into reminiscences of other writers) an ear for melody and an appropriateness of expression. Of the pieces before us, we think the best is the *Quæ est ista*, one of the antiphons sung at the reception of nuns; the prolongation of the bass note at the termination of the first movement, and its resolution with the commencement of the second, being as happy an instance of the use of *harmony* as a means of expression as we can call to mind. Mr. Richardson's most ambitious piece, the *Tollite portas*, is the least satisfactory. The opening is good, the subject of the fugue is good, and the treatment clear and artistic; but at the twenty-fifth bar from the end it becomes a mere piece of mechanism conducted according to the rules of the schools, and well enough as an exercise, but totally without meaning. The example of almost all the great masters of the art, in our view, is no justification of any practice by which the end of all vocal music, namely, expression, is violated. We augur so well of the abilities of Mr. Richardson that we trust he will avoid this rock, on which so many excellent composers have split. In a piece of any pretensions beyond those of a mere *corale*, breadth must be studied before elaboration, and truth before scholastic subtlety.

Every thing written by the Count de Montalembert is always worth reading ; and great credit is due to Mr. Dolman for the spirited way in which he has presented us with that nobleman's latest work, clad in an English dress, so immediately after its appearance in France. *Catholic Interests in the Nineteenth Century* (London, Dolman) is not, as some of the notices of it that have appeared in the London journals may have led our readers to imagine, a mere political brochure interesting only to Frenchmen and politicians. The first chapter contains a rapid but brilliant review of the condition of Catholicism throughout the whole of Europe now and as it was fifty years ago. Next, he insists on the special characteristic of this regeneration of European Catholicism, that it is not a mere superficial progress or improvement of outward circumstances, but far more a real consolidation and development of inward strength ; and that no other system, political, theological, or philosophical, has made a similar progress during the same period, but Catholicism only. So far all his Catholic readers will go along with him, be enchanted by his eloquence, and feel inspirited by the glowing colours in which his subject is painted. The remaining portion of the work, however, is far from having commanded the same unanimity of judgment. Montalembert expresses himself very strongly on the recent political changes in France, and on the language of the Catholic press in their regard. We cannot here enter into a detailed examination of the points at issue between Montalembert and the *Univers*. As we read history, France is a country essentially monarchical, and therefore we think Montalembert's statements *somewhat* overcharged ; still, on the whole, we are sure that he will command the sympathies of English Catholics generally, as he has those of German Catholics ; and at any rate they cannot fail to be much interested by studying the thoughts of so good a Catholic and so able a writer on the present extraordinary political condition of that country.

The second part of the Essay on *The Restoration of Belief* (Cambridge, Macmillan and Co.) has appeared, and is characterised by the same accomplished style, and the same boldness and originality of thought as the first. We wish we could say more, and that the essay was calculated to fulfil its author's desire and its own title, viz. to restore belief in Christianity in those minds which have unfortunately lost it. We confess, however, that we have no such expectations. The present part of the essay treats of "the supernatural element contained in the Epistles, and its bearing on the argument for the truth of Christianity ;" and there is a great deal of interesting matter in it, expressed in a very graceful way. It is scarcely of a kind, however, calculated to make a very deep impression on minds in which scepticism has made any real progress, and which are familiar with the German modes of Biblical interpretation. If the author would but fairly apply the same principles which he here lays down for the defence of Christianity to an examination of the evidences of the Catholic faith, he would either become a Catholic, or he must acknowledge his own canons of criticism to be untrustworthy. For ourselves, we are satisfied that they are really and fairly available for both purposes, *in an equal degree*—i.e. in the case of persons who have no interest in resisting them, and no violent prejudices to be shocked by the conclusions to which they would lead ; but as we should never think of using them in an argument with Mr. Spooner or Sir Culling Eardley, so this author also may rest assured that he is using them in vain against real sceptics and infidels.

We are glad to see that the second volume of *De Ponte's Meditations* (London, Richardson) has now appeared. To those who wish to study

accurately the life of our blessed Lord, this and the two next volumes will be invaluable. In order to shew the fulness and minuteness of these beautiful meditations, it is enough to mention that the present volume of 300 pages does not embrace his baptism, and therefore none of his public life. In an appendix of forty or fifty pages, the Novena of Meditations in honour of the Sacred Heart by Father Borgio is added.

The second edition of the *Prayer-Book for the Young* (Burns and Lambert), a very useful little book, remedies the defect we previously noticed, by the addition of Devotions for Mass.

The new volume of *The Oratorian Lives of the Saints* (Richardson and Son) contains the lives of St. Catherine of Ricci, St. Agnes of Montepulciano, B. Benvenuta of Bojan, and B. Catherine of Raconigi; all of them belonging to one or other of the orders of St. Dominic. We hope the editors of this valuable series will be able always to make arrangements of this kind, by which the lives of saints of the same order, or of the same age, or of the same character, may be brought out together. The absence of any such arrangement was a defect which we ventured to point out in the last volume that appeared. We pointed out some others also; and in the preface to the present volume, the editors observe, with reference to all such suggestions, that to give explanatory notes and in other ways to attempt to remove some of the difficulties which attend the Lives of the Saints, would be a departure from the original idea of the undertaking upon which they obtained the sanction of superiors, and for which alone they have sufficient leisure. We are too well pleased with the series as it is, to insist upon objections that cannot be overcome, though we must still be allowed to retain our private regrets that it is not altogether what we should like it to be.

Correspondence.

ACCENTUATION OF LATIN IN THE MECHLIN VESPERAL.

To the Editor of the Rambler.

SIR,—Your October Number contained an excellent letter on the subject of the “Musical Accentuation of the Latin Language” as connected with Mass and Motett music. I crave your permission to make a few remarks bearing more or less on the same subject, but with reference only to the Vesper service.

It will be known to most of your readers, no doubt, that great and most laudable exertions have been made of late years to introduce and facilitate the proper execution of the chants, antiphons, and hymns, which make up the service of Vespers; and that Messrs. Burns have brought out, under the able editorship of Mr. Lambert of Salisbury, a series of works (now almost complete) which will enable ordinary singers and ordinary organists to chant correctly the various antiphons which lead into the Psalms, and without which, or with which simply recited, or, still worse, sung to the old London-chapel tune, the service is undoubtedly very bald and incomplete. It happened most fortunately for the success of this movement, that a short time previously a new Vespéral had been brought out under the auspices of the Archbishop of Mechlin, of which it is not too much to say, that it has rendered possible that which was before impossible, since to have chanted the antiphons to the barbarous jumble of notes in the old Antiphonaries would not have been endurable or endured out of the self-

complacent kingdom of France. The labours of the Mechlin editors may therefore be truly termed a *reformation* of the Antiphonary. They themselves, it is true, profess only to have *restored* the ancient song; nevertheless, we may be permitted to conjecture, that, amidst the confusion of ancient manuscripts, the true and only possible result was, and has been, the production of a Vespéral such as in the judgment of the editors a Vespéral *ought* to be, rather than what it *would* have been had old examples been rigorously followed. If Père Lambillotte is to be believed, this is certainly the case; and if so, the Mechlin Vespéral can claim no greater authority than is due to the learning, and diligence, and *taste* of the compilers. I have already said that it is a vast improvement on the old chant-books, and I will now add, that it is so particularly as regards the proper accentuation of the words; a matter in which foreigners have been hitherto so deficient, that it would seem as if they were either wholly ignorant of the right pronunciation of the Latin language, or had no ear for accent at all. The Mechlin editors have introduced a thorough reform in this particular; no one using their Vespéral need fear encountering a decidedly false accent; yet they have retained certain foreign peculiarities in the arrangement and division of words, which is to our ears very unpleasant. From this source, too, arise frequent redundant notes, the use of which not unfrequently compels you to throw a secondary accent upon an unaccented syllable. It is very difficult to explain oneself on musical details without the use of notes, but I will endeavour to do so by a few instances.

The most marked peculiarity in the Mechlin Vespéral, as well as in all the other works of the same editors, is a fondness for *splitting* the emphatic syllable, contrary, as it appears to me, to the practice of the best composers in music generally, but particularly in recitative to which the antiphon bears a close resemblance; I mean, that instead of throwing the emphatic *syllable* direct and singly upon the emphatic *note*, by which the full vigour of the phrase is preserved, the Mechlin editors will divide it and spread it over two notes, the first unaccented, the second the emphatic note. Instances of this occur in probably every antiphon in the Vespéral, but perhaps a more familiar example may be found in the common hymn for Sundays, *Lucis Creator optime*. In this hymn the metre requires the second syllable of the first word of every line to be accented, and the music corresponds; but it happens that the tune has *three* notes for the first *two* syllables, consequently one of those syllables must be spread over two notes. Now the first two notes are unaccented ones leading up to the third, the accented one; and what so easy and natural as to run the first syllable over the first two notes, and then strike boldly with your accented syllable upon the third (accented) note? Not so our Mechlin friends; they have a “non-natural” system, which produces this result: instead of *lu-ucis Creator*, and *pri-imórdiis lucis*, and *mu-undi parans*, they will have it *luci-is Creator*, and *primo-órdiis lucis*, and *mundi-i parans*. I pray your readers to try the effect of this syllabic arrangement upon the English language—the best test of what is natural. Let them sing the same tune to the English translation, in the Mechlin style. Thus, instead of *O-o greât Creator of the light, Who-o frôm the darksome womb of night, Brought'-st fôrth new light at Nature's birth, To-o shine upon the face of earth*; instead of this, the verse would run, *O grea-eât Creator of the light, Who fro-ôm the darksome womb of night, Brought'st fo-ôrth new light at Nature's birth, To shi-îne upon the face of earth*. Is not the effect odd, even ludicrous?

But I have said that the above system often compels a singer to throw a secondary accent upon an unaccented syllable. Examples of

this are numerous, both in the "Vespéral" and "Ordinarium Missæ." Refer, for instance, to the antiphons for Magnificat for first and second Vespers of a Martyr. In the former, our accent is forced upon the second syllable of the word *impiorum*; in the latter, on the same syllable of the word *semetipsum*. The common sense of singers will no doubt lead them commonly to rectify these errors, which is often to be done by the simple omission of a redundant note; but here I cannot help preferring a gentle complaint against Mr. Lambert, that in his organ accompaniments he has interposed not unfrequently a difficulty in the singer's way, by changing the harmony upon the very note which ought to be omitted, so that it becomes necessary to disfigure the organist's book by alterations, lest he should be misled.

The antiphons, however, are for the few, the psalm-tones for the many; and I proceed to shew that the "non-natural" system is carried into the ordinary Vesper chants. I refer to the first and third terminations of the first tone, the first termination of the third tone, and the first termination of the fourth tone; and, to exemplify my meaning, I will use the usual words, *seculorum. Amen.*

The first termination of the first tone consists of six notes, the first and fourth being accented; and I maintain that the syllables should be

appropriated according to the usual English custom, thus: $\begin{matrix} & 1 & 2 \\ lo & - & rum \\ 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} & 1 & 2 \\ a & - & a & - & men \\ 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \end{matrix}$; but the Mechlin Vespéral divides them thus: $\begin{matrix} & 1 & 2 \\ lo & - & rum \\ 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} & 1 & 2 \\ a & - & a & - & me & - & en \\ 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \end{matrix}$

introducing the syllable *men* on the fifth instead of the sixth note. I appeal to every listener if he does not *feel* this to be wrong; and if a rule is demanded, I believe it to be this, that in what may be called a running passage the syllable should not be changed except upon a note having *some* accent, whereas the fifth note has none. In the same way, and on the same principle, I contend that the "a" should continue till the last note of the third ending of the first tone, as also of the first ending of the third tone. With respect to the fourth tone, the first termination consists of five notes, the first and fourth being accented; and the question here is how the syllables "*lo-rum*" should be divided; and, in my opinion, there ought to be rather more accent on the second than the third note of the termination, and therefore that

the syllables should be divided thus: $\begin{matrix} & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\ lo & - & ru & - & um & a & - & men \\ 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \end{matrix}$. This is not the Mechlin division; but I admit that a singer *may* throw a greater accent on the third than the second syllable, in which case the Mechlin division would be correct.

Matters which affect the every-day service of the Church are, I conceive, deserving of attention in every particular; and I commit the above observations to the consideration of those persons to whom we are already so much indebted for their labours in this department of the Ritual.—I am, sir, yours obediently,

A CHORISTER.

Obituary.

Of your charity pray for the soul of Mr. MARSLAND, of Huntington Villa, Clifton, who died on the Feast of All Saints, having received all the rites of the Church.

END OF VOL. X.

Robson, Levey, and Franklyn, Great New Street and Fetter Lane.

